

THE FINANCES OF THE RIGHT WING
A Study of the Size and Sources of Income of 30 Selected Operations

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A chronic complaint of those who study and report on the American right-wing is the lack of reliable information on size and finances -- on membership and on sources and uses of funds. This situation is not unusual in politics and semi-politics, although the evident philosophy of such laws as the Corrupt Practices Act and the Lobbying Act is that the public has a right to know who it is that is attempting to influence public policy and how much they are spending to do so.

Despite this apparent purpose, the reporting requirements of such laws leave something to be desired. Requirements tend to be interpreted rather narrowly and loopholes are not uncommon relative to items reported.

When we move into the "gray" area of indirect influences on policy -- where one man's "education" is another

man's "propaganda" -- the lack of data increases. This is particularly true of information on where the money comes from. However, as much information as possible has been drawn together in this report on a substantial selection of major operations, and covering a period of several years. The purpose is to provide facts about the specific organizations involved, but also to furnish indications as to the major characteristics and tendencies of the right-wing in general.

Sources

In preparing this study a variety of sources have been utilized.

First, a surprising number of the organizations studied have exempt status under the Internal Revenue Code.

Section 501 (c)(3) of the Code lists, as among organizations which are exempt from taxation, those "organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes . . . no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and which does not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office." Section 170(c) (2) uses almost identical language in defining organizations, contributions to which may be deducted from taxable income by individual and corporate taxpayers.

Such organizations -- usually referred to as "exempt organizations" but more accurately characterized as "tax-exempt" and "tax-deductible" organizations -- number in the thousands. The Cumulative List published by the Internal Revenue Service exceeds 350 pages in length.

This substantive privilege of tax exemption and deductibility carries with it a procedural responsibility: namely, the filing with the Internal Revenue Service of annual informational returns, portions of which are available for public inspection. It should be noted that the privilege and the responsibility are not invariably coupled. Rev. Carl McIntire has tax-exempt status for Christian Beacon, which technically sponsors his daily radio program, as well as for the American Council of Christian Churches, in which he plays a leading role as arch-critic of the National Council of Churches. In both instances, however, McIntire claims that he does not have to file informational returns, since the requirement is waived for "religious organizations" by Section 6033 (a) (1). Rev. Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade, on the other hand, file the returns.

Second, those few organizations which freely admit being political action groups file regular reports with the House of Representatives under the Corrupt Practices Act. These reports cover major contributors as well as total income and expenditure. Some other organizations, chiefly pressure groups, register under the Lobbying Act, and file quarterly reports with both the House and the Senate. In this category, the reports tend to be incomplete, relating only to what the reporting organization regards as direct expenditures for "lobbying," but they frequently provide a basis for reasonably reliable estimates.

Third, some states require that any organization which solicits financial contributions from the public must file informational returns with the state. Though primarily designed to cover charitable and philanthropic fund solicitations, such laws may affect organizations on the political scene. Thus, in Massachusetts, the John Birch Society is required to file such reports; and New York has a similar law which affects some of the organizations with headquarters in that state.

Fourth, organizations may release information on finances in their own publications or in statements to the press. While not as helpful as regular reports, such fragmentary data can sometimes be combined with other facts, such as circulation figures, to provide useful estimates of the totals involved. (Appendix A sets forth the specific sources and the methods of adjustment and estimation utilized in this report.)

Scope

There are hundreds of organizations making up the American right-wing. The 1962 edition of the First National Directory of "Rightist" Groups, Publications and Some Individuals -- compiled "for and by right wingers" -- carried nearly 2,000 listings and the 1963 Supplement added another 1,000. These figures must be drastically discounted in view of the large number of multiple listings, mere local units, "paper" organizations, and those whose status as "rightist" would be extremely hard to justify. However, the number of operations which are actually in existence, and at least aspiring to some sort of national status, still must be counted in the hundreds. Consequently, arbitrary judgement is sometimes required in the selection of those to be included in any study such as this.

A second important aspect of this selection is the variety which characterizes the American right-wing. It is a basic premise of this study that this variety is as significant as the similarities that underlie the whole. The American right-wing is not monolithic, but constitutes a spectrum -- wide of range, including both "responsible" and "irresponsible" elements, but at the same time inter-linked at various points along the spectrum in terms of interests, ideology and personnel. Making clear, yet meaningful, distinctions between categories of the right-wing is a perennial difficulty. See, for example, the article by three Wellesley College faculty members, "Responsible and Irresponsible Right-Wing Groups: A Problem in Analysis," Journal of Social Issues, April, 1963. B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League has referred aptly to "the ideological blur" between some key groups.

The selection of operations to be covered by the study had two major guidelines: First, to secure a representative variety in terms of method of operation, focus of interest, extremity of views, and general role in the broad spectrum; and second, to include as many as possible of those organizations genuinely considered to be important. The availability of financial information naturally was a limiting factor, but this operated primarily at a later stage, requiring the dropping of organizations which it had originally been thought would be included. By far the most serious of such omissions is the leading income tax-repeal organization, the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., on which there just wasn't enough information even to make estimates possible. That this is a major gap is indicated by the fact that the Liberty Amendment Committee was discussing a \$300,000 annual budget in promotional material sent out last year. Others dropped from the list for the same reason included We, The People!, a Chicago-based operation that sponsors annual conferences of leading right-wing figures; and Young Americans for Freedom, which grew directly out of the 1960 Youth-for-Goldwater movement and which played an important role in the Senator's successful drive for the nomination.

In the end, some thirty operations were included in the study and an examination of the list on page 5 underlines the fact that neither comprehensiveness nor homogeneity was attainable.

Included, at one extreme, are the out-and-out bigots, such as Gerald L. K. Smith and the late Conde McGinley's Common Sense, as well as the segregationist Citizens' Councils of America. On the other hand, it also includes such conventional organizations as the American Economic Foundation, the Foundation for Economic Education, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, which focus largely on extreme laissez-faire economics but also give substantial attention to its implications in terms of domestic issues.

In a similar category, but with the addition of "hard-line" foreign policy views, would be William Buckley's National Review, while concentrating on the "hard-line" aspect would be the various committees organized by Buckley's close associate, Marvin Liebman, and an organization like the American Security Council.

In still another category, serving as some sort of a "cheering section" for various rightists is Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. Both of these latter-named resist the adjective "right-wing" as does Fred Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, but all three have generally been considered a part of the scene. (See, for example, Richard Dudman, Men of the Far Right; Mark Sherwin, The Extremists; and Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, The Far Right) Perhaps more representative of the popular concept is the John Birch Society and the groups run by some of its leaders, such as Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, the Manion Forum, the operations of Kent and Phoebe Courtney, Liberty Lobby, and the Citizens' Foreign Aid Committee-For America combine directed by Gen. Bonner Fellers. Still another general grouping would be those characterized by one author as "Apostles of Discord:" Edgar Bundy's Church League of America, Howard Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation, Myers Lowman's Circuit Riders, and Rev. Carl McIntire's 20th Century Reformation Hour.

These, and the various others included, are linked basically by the fact that on economic and political issues they are significantly to the right of center. In addition, as indicated earlier, there tend to be at various points along the spectrum overlapping personnel, support, interests and issues.

It must be emphasized again, however, that the various operations considered in this study are not in any sense equatable, but reflect instead an effort to convey a broad picture of the right-wing in America. Brief identifying comments are furnished in Appendix B for all of the organizations included in the study.

It should also be stressed that there is no intention of implying that the operations covered in this study are "the top thirty right-wing operations." There are several other operations whose known size would rank them as larger than some of those included. As has been indicated, these were selected to include as many of the largest operations as possible, but lack of data forced the exclusion of some. Similarly, the desire to have a representative variety led to exclusion of some operations that were similar to others, in favor of perhaps-smaller operations that were significantly different. Finally, it is not the contention of this report that budget size is the best measure of total impact. Thus, while the John Birch Society would not appear to be the largest in terms of finances, its relatively narrow focus -- without the dilution of funda-

mentalist religion, for example -- may well mean that it has more direct impact than any other operation covered. When indirect effects are considered, the budget size becomes even less reliable as a measure of impact.

The Top Ten, 1958-62

Summary information on income is given in Table 1 for all 30 selected operations, covering the years 1958-62 and totaling more than \$12 million in the last year. These operations are listed in Table 1 in order of their size in the final year. A comparison of the rankings of the top ten for the three years 1958, 1960 and 1962 is interesting both in terms of stability and change. (See Appendix C for comparative listings.)

First, within the ranks of the largest operations there has been a good deal of stability. Six of them appear in the top ten in all three years: Hargis's Christian Crusade, the Foundation for Economic Education, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Human Events, Manion Forum, and National Review. Three more of 1962's top ten had been in that category in 1960. Only the John Birch Society made its first appearance in the leading group in 1962, reflecting a more rapid relative growth than any of the others.

This points up the fact that change has also characterized the rankings. Two of the three leaders in 1962 had not been in the ranks of the top ten in 1958, nor of the top five in 1960. Their top ranking positions in 1962 may be regarded as reflecting increased affluence on the American right, and a sharp rise in the use of radio and television to carry its message. It should also be noted, however, that both of these organizations tend to put their highly conservative commentary on current issues in the context of fundamentalist religious tenets.

It would also appear fair to say that the "voices" at the top of the list tend to be more strident in 1962 than was the case in 1958. Of the top five in the earlier year, two were primarily of the laissez-faire economics category and another was the primarily-patriotic Freedoms Foundation. By 1962 all three of these had dropped from the top five, as had the less strident of the two publications that had so ranked in 1958. Replacing them, in addition to the radio programs of Carl McIntire and Life Line, were the John Birch Society and Billy James Hargis. The "progress" of the Foundation for Economic Education from 1st place to 4th to 10th is perhaps symbolic of the trend over the five-year period.

The Growth Pattern

Total income accounted for by the 30 operations studied increased by 150% over the 5-year period -- from \$4.9 million in 1958 to \$12.2 million in 1962. Figures for three earlier years were available for 20 of the 30 operations covered by the study. The data are presented in Table 2, with the listing in order of 1956 size. In addition, 1963 figures for 15 of the 30 are presented in Table 3. If it is assumed that these two groups are roughly representative of the full thirty (in terms of growth pattern), totals can be projected for the larger group to furnish a growth pattern over the 9-year period 1955-1963.

These annual totals, in millions of dollars and with the

percentage increase over the previous year shown in parentheses, are as follows:

1955 - \$ 3.0 million
 1956 - \$ 3.4 million (15%)
 1957 - \$ 4.1 million (22%)
 1958 - \$ 4.9 million (19%)
 1959 - \$ 5.8 million (18%)
 1960 - \$ 7.6 million (31%)
 1961 - \$10.8 million (42%)
 1962 - \$12.2 million (13%)
 1963 - \$14.3 million (17%)

The pattern, then, is of relatively steady growth in the late 1950's, followed by an unusual surge in the years 1960-61, and a return to the earlier trend in 1962 and 1963. This is presented in graphic form in Chart 1 below, together with a simple trend line fitted to the data for the period. If a projection to 1964 is made on the basis of the average growth-rate, indicated by the trend line, the total for this year will be almost \$16 million. Such a simple projection, however, is made extremely dubious by the fact that this is an election year and that one of the Presidential candidates has long been a major hero to the American right.

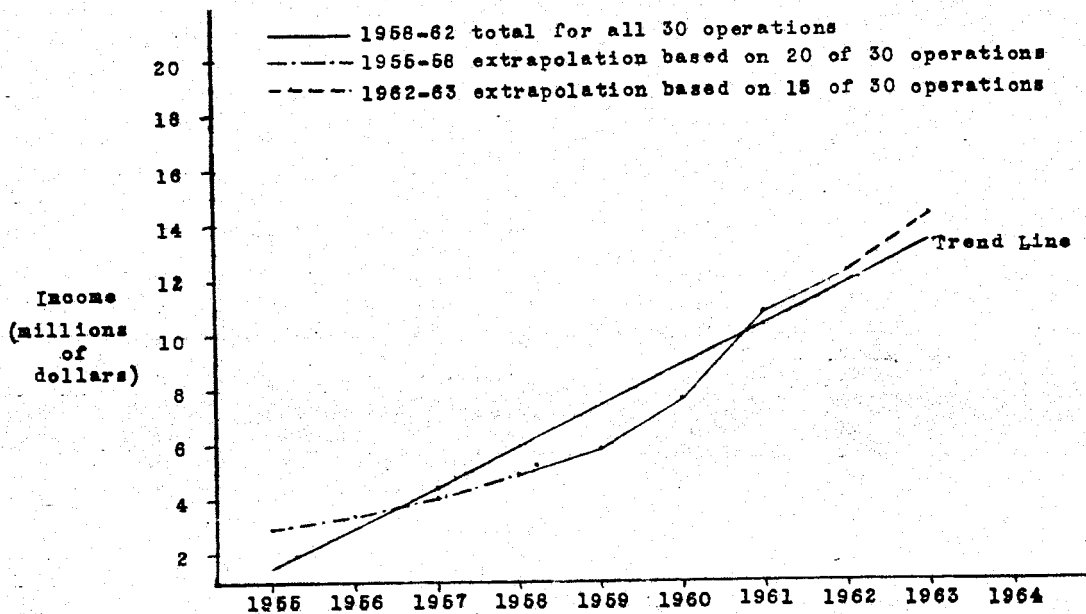


CHART 1

Total Income, 1955-63, Thirty Selected Operations

The Internal Pattern

Expenditure as well as income figures were available for 19 of 30 operations covered by the study. Almost all of these showed deficits in at least one year during the period, meaning that gross expenditures exceeded gross income, including contributions; but most of these had total income above their expenses for the period as a whole. A notable exception is the John Birch Society, in which expenses have exceeded income in every year but one (1962), and which reported a cumulative deficit of almost \$211 thousand at the end of 1963.

Again, if the 19 for which both income and outgo figures are available are regarded as representative, it would appear that the 30 organizations as a whole took in more than they spent in all of the 5 years covered in Table 1 except 1959. Eleven of the nineteen showed a deficit that year, and a projected composite figure for the full 30 operations would still show a very small deficit (about \$150).

In view of the variety of operations covered in Table 1 there is little to be learned from groupings of figures. It is probably significant, however, that breakdowns on sources of income which cover more than one-third of the totals indicate a decreasing reliance on contributions. Thus, in 1958 contributions made up about 88% of income for those organizations where a breakdown was available, while in 1962 they had dropped to about 73%. Income from sale of materials was shown as rising over the same period (from less than 9% to more than 21%). The exact percentage figures are debatable but the trend indicated is worth noting. On the expenditure side about the only generalization which can be validly drawn from the partial breakdowns available is that payroll costs amount to roughly a third of total expenditures.

TABLE 1
ANNUAL INCOME OF THIRTY SELECTED OPERATIONS, 1958-1962
(thousands of dollars)

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
"TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR" (Carl McIntire) ^a	62.0	177.5	382.5	635.5	1,163.0
HUMAN EVENTS ^a	329.1	390.4	594.6	918.5	1,005.9
LIFE LINE ^{a, b}	50.2	295.4	439.9	606.5	994.3
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY	--	129.8	198.7	595.9	826.1
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE (Billy James Hargis)	275.3	373.2	595.5	817.2	775.4
CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE (Dr. Fred Schwarz)	104.9	207.7	366.5	1,209.0	725.5
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE ^b	327.5	333.4	633.3	817.3	706.2
NATIONAL REVIEW ^a	390.0	287.0	370.0	563.0	704.0
MANION FORUM ^a	305.6	385.3	405.0	472.5	600.0
FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION ^b	489.2	479.6	495.8	476.7	562.4
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION ^b	320.0	443.5	481.3	562.2	538.3
DAN SMOOT ^a	186.0	206.0	242.0	320.0	384.0
CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION (Howard Kershner)	478.9	214.7	253.4	303.4	330.9
AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL ^a	90.0	116.0	179.0	213.0	256.0
AMERICA'S FUTURE ^a	247.9	224.4	225.1	240.5	256.0
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM (Harding College) ^b	151.3	182.1	232.9	293.4	240.7
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE (Gerald L. K. Smith)	172.7	168.7	181.9	210.7	229.1
COURTNEY "COMPLEX" ^{a, c}	20.0	35.0	133.0	150.0	225.0
INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIETY OF INDIVIDUALISTS ^{a, b}	91.6	97.4	100.2	161.6	200.6
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	49.9	50.2	78.2	196.0	200.4
CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA ^a	200.0	192.0	186.0	184.0	200.0
LIEBMAN "COMPLEX" ^{a, b, d}	113.8	114.5	130.7	172.0	196.2
FREEDOM SCHOOL ^{a, b}	38.4	69.5	78.6	92.0	195.7
COMMON SENSE ^a	146.0	156.0	168.0	179.0	182.0
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	5.7	197.7	126.8	61.2	145.7
CIRCUIT RIDERS ^{a, b}	65.4	71.0	85.3	82.4	86.0
NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL ^a	89.8	89.1	84.4	83.4	83.7
D.A.R., NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE ^b	47.4	47.7	49.4	68.6	64.5
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA ^{b, c}	37.5	40.9	49.7	60.1	62.5
LIBERTY LOBBY ^a	20.0	30.0	40.0	50.2	58.7

TOTAL - All Thirty Operations
(See reverse for notes)

4,906.1 5,805.7 7,587.7 10,795.7 12,198.8

TABLE 1 - cont'd

Source: See Appendix A for sources of data and methods of estimation utilized.

Wherever possible, total income figures have been utilized; in a few instances estimated figures for total expenditures had to be substituted.

^a Estimated in whole or in part. See Appendix A for specific methodology in each case.

^b Adjusted from fiscal year to calendar year.

^c The Independent American and related activities of Kent and Phoebe Courtney.

^d Consists of American-Asian Educational Exchange, American Jewish League Against Communism, and Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations throughout; plus American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters and Committee for the Monroe Doctrine in 1962. Marvin Liebman plays a key organizational role in all of these.

^e Combined because they have operated jointly in recent years, under the direction of Gen. Bonner Fellers.

TABLE 2
ANNUAL INCOME OF TWENTY SELECTED OPERATIONS
1955-1957

	(thousands of dollars)		
	1955	1956	1957
FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION	\$ 553.6	\$ 471.5	\$ 476.7
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE	399.8	463.7	413.1
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION	350.8	307.4	296.8
AMERICA'S FUTURE	220.0	238.7	244.8
<u>HUMAN EVENTS</u>	151.6	237.9	301.9
CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION	262.0	166.7	357.7
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM	154.6	154.5	141.6
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE	165.3	151.7	168.2
MANION FORUM	90.0	149.9	245.6
<u>NATIONAL REVIEW</u>	10.0	142.0	190.0
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE	48.4	124.1	170.7
CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA	---	104.0	184.0
CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE	41.1	57.8	39.4
CIRCUIT RIDERS	33.4	49.7	70.9
INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIETY OF INDIVIDUALISTS	29.8	43.7	72.1
D. A. R., NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE	42.8	41.4	44.1
DAN SMOOT	11.4	39.0	132.0
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	21.8	29.4	38.9
TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR	25.8	25.0	38.5
FREEDOM SCHOOL	---	---	19.7
TOTAL - All 20 Operations	\$ 2,612.0	\$ 2,998.1	\$ 3,646.8
PROJECTED TOTAL - 30 Operations	\$ 2,957.0	\$ 3,393.8	\$ 4,128.1

Notes: All Notes applicable to Table 1 apply also to this table.

TABLE 3
ANNUAL INCOME OF FIFTEEN SELECTED OPERATIONS
1963

(thousands of dollars)

TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR	\$ 1,718.0
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY	1,092.3
LIFE LINE	1,088.0
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION	953.1
<u>HUMAN EVENTS</u>	927.5
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE	711.8
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE	677.2
DAN SMOOT	455.0
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE	288.7
COURTNEY "COMPLEX"	281.0
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	235.1
<u>COMMON SENSE</u>	160.0
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	84.9
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA	72.3
LIBERTY LOBBY	60.5
Total - All 15 operations	\$ 8,805.4
Projected total - 30 operations	\$14,328.7

Notes: All notes applicable to Table 1 apply to this table also.

The Question of Subsidy

The financial data available indicate that a very large part of right-wing activities receives indirect subsidy from the government. No less than 17 of the organizations represented in this report have tax-exempt status under Federal law. This means that persons contributing to these organizations may deduct the amount of their support from their taxable income. The rest of the taxpayers in the nation are paying increased taxes and thus indirectly supporting these tax-exempt organizations, whether they want to or not. The 17 organizations falling into this category accounted for \$6.6 million of the \$12.2 million total for 1962 -- or more than half.

In addition, however, it should be remembered that sponsorship of radio and television programs like Life Line, the Manion Forum and Dan Smoot can be charged off to advertising by business firms and again represents an item which is deductible from taxable income. The same is true of advertising purchased in publications such as American Opinion, Human Events and National Review. This category accounts for at least another \$962,000 of the 1962 figure.

The two categories together make up 62% of the total, and this does not necessarily exhaust the possibilities for tax exemption. For example, purchases of gift subscriptions to magazines or newsletters to be sent to tax-exempt institutions, such as colleges or public libraries, might be claimed as gifts to the institutions and therefore become a deductible expenditure. Similarly, business firms are likely to regard their membership in the American Security Council as a business cost (possibly carried as "research services" or as "personnel selection expense"). Other business firms may well justify some part of their expenditures (for newsletters and other publications, for example) on various operations as a business cost.

In short, while it is impossible to know how much of the income going to these 30 operations actually is claimed as a tax-deductible item, it is clear that as much as two-thirds of the total could be claimed.

Major Financial Sources: The Data

As has already been indicated, information on who puts up the money for the right-wing is fragmentary at best. In the case of reports filed under the Lobbying and Corrupt Practices Acts, all contributors of more-than-a-certain-amount are to be reported. However, it is clear that many reporting organizations interpret this to refer to individual contributions or to amounts within one quarter. Thus, an individual or firm could contribute, say \$475 each quarter, to a lobbying organization, for a total of \$1,900, and not be reported; while one giving a third of that in one lump would be. Consequently, these reports do not necessarily reflect the biggest contributors.

In the case of the numerous tax-exempt organizations involved, the identity of individual contributors is not required to be shown on the publicly-available portion of their annual informational returns. An indirect source of data for these, however, are the returns of philanthropic trusts, since the latter more often list the specific recipients of their grants on the publicly available portion of their returns. But, this is a case of perhaps being able to find amounts contributed if you already can make a good guess as to what contributors to check, and if the

publicly available portion of their returns does indeed give a detailed listing of grant recipients. While it has been by far the most productive source of the data presented below, it remains fragmentary and partial. And, it applies to only one major source of funds -- the tax-exempt philanthropic trust as a supporter of the tax-exempt "educational" or "religious" organization.

In short, in only a few cases can we be sure of ourselves in saying who the largest single contributor to a specific organization is. It is simply impossible to do a comprehensive and orderly survey of any group of operations and arrive at a certain conclusion as to who is the largest single supporter in the picture.

This lengthy caveat is by way of characterizing what follows as a partial look at some important sources of finances for the operations studied and a consequent indication of the identity of some of the leading financial supporters of the American right.

Major Financial Sources: The Kinds

Financial support of the right-wing takes a variety of forms. Most of these have already been alluded to. For business firms it may be in the form of advertising (in publications or by sponsorship of radio-television programs); it may be in the form of contributions to a tax-exempt operation (either directly or through the firm's philanthropic trust -- and virtually every firm seems to have one); it may be through the firm's own "Americanism" program (Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, of Los Angeles, which operates a Free Enterprise Bureau budgeted at a quarter of a million dollars annually, is an example); or it may be through purchase and distribution of materials produced by the right.

For individuals, the pattern is basically the same. Contributions remain the largest single source of funds to the right-wing; and wealthy individuals, like corporations, seem generally to have a philanthropic trust to utilize in channeling funds to favored "educational" efforts. In this regard, it must be stressed that most of the grants disbursed by these philanthropic trusts go to standard charities and philanthropies with which few, if any, could quarrel. At the same time, however, these trusts and foundations serve as channels for funds to operations of the kind covered by this study.

A final point that needs to be made is that while large contributors are of key importance, this is not a case of a few businessmen and/or Texas oilmen completely underwriting the right-wing in America. Such information as is available indicates that operations like Hargis's Christian Crusade and McIntire's 20th Century Reformation Hour have very broadly based support. This is doubtless true of most other operations covered in this study. (A striking exception would be the Christian Freedom Foundation of Howard Kershner. Data covering four years showed that J. Howard Pew and his Freedom Trust accounted for more than three-fourths of all income during the period.) It should be remembered that in political operations, the importance of the large contribution is that it affords a sort of assured "floor" or operating base. It seems likely that such is generally their role on the right-wing as well.

Interlocking Support

Among the threads which tie together the variegated fabric of the right-wing is that of common financial support. A substantial number of important contributors give to a number of the operations dealt with in this study -- and in some instances they are strikingly dissimilar in character. Table 4 presents some of the evidence on this point, noting the support furnished by some 20 financial sources to 20 of the operations covered in this study. In virtually all instances, individual contributors have been combined with their business firm and/or philanthropic trust or foundation as appropriate.

The details underlying Table 4 are set forth below:

Barber-Colman Co., of Rockford, Ill. -- a machine tool firm which advertises in National Review. A listing of grants by the Barber-Colman Foundation is available for 1960 and 1961. It includes American Economic Foundation (\$4,000), America's Future (\$2,000), Foundation for Economic Education (\$10,000), Freedom School (\$2,000) and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$1,600). Another recipient was the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which disbursed most of its fund for gift subscriptions to Human Events. (Note also that the late Duncan Stewart, President of Barber-Colman, was listed by Human Events as on its "charter subscription list.")

✓ Harry L. Bradley, Chairman of the Board, Allen-Bradley Co., of Milwaukee -- Mr. Bradley is listed by the Manion Forum as among its sponsors (listings of 1957 through 1962), by Human Events as a charter subscriber, and by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists as having given it \$5,000 in one year. His firm advertises in American Opinion and in National Review, and Dr. Fred Schwarz is reported to have named it as contributing \$10,000 annually to his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (Janson and Eismann, The Far Right, McGraw-Hill, 1963, p. 66). The National Economic Council reported the firm as a "major contributor" (\$500 or more but specific amounts not given) in at least 3 quarters over the two-year period 1960-61. It is listed by Freedom School as among the firms utilizing its facilities to train personnel.

It is also of interest that Allen-Bradley Co. appears to be the leading financial supporter of Freedom Projects, a program making films (including "Communism on the Map") available to schools. This operation is managed by the same public relations firm which manages the John Birch Society's American Opinion Speakers Bureau. (Portland, Me. Press-Herald November, 1961) Finally, there is an Allen-Bradley Foundation, but listings of specific grant recipients are not publicly available. (For fiscal 1962 the Foundation reported almost \$230,000 in grants to "educational institutions" and nearly \$200,000 more in the category of "general" grants.)

Donaldson Brown -- A retired former executive in the DuPont Corp. and General Motors and still a DuPont director. He has given \$2,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action. He and his wife are the main donors to the Mt. Ararat Foundation, for which detailed listings of grant recipients are available for the years 1958-62. Included are American Economic Foundation (\$5,000), America's Future (\$8,000), and the National Economic Council (\$3,750 -- "for benefit of certain

schools, libraries, etc."), as well as minor grants to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and Circuit Riders. Mr. Brown was one of the earliest trustees of the Foundation for Economic Education, though he has not appeared on their letterhead since the early 1950's.

F. Gano Chance -- Chairman of A. B. Chance Co., of Centralia, Mo., and a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society. Chance is also a trustee of America's Future, a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, a sponsor of the Manion Forum (listings of 1957-62), and on the advisory bodies of Hargis's Christian Crusade and the American Economic Foundation's "Hall of Free Enterprise" project. Listings of grant recipients for his Chance Foundation, during 1961-62, included: American Economic Foundation, America's Future, Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Hargis's Christian Crusade, Circuit Riders, and Harding College both years; and Church League, Freedom School, Freedoms Foundation, Human Events, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists in one year. Also included one year were two organizations in which Carl McIntire plays a leading role, the American and International Councils of Christian Churches. (The Chance Foundation grants are not strikingly large, but they do cover a wide spectrum of organizations.)

Robert Dresser -- A Providence, R. I. attorney, Dresser is probably best known for the frequent ads he runs in the Providence Journal commenting on political issues. He is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers and an Editorial Advisor to American Opinion. He has given \$1,500 to Americans for Constitutional Action; is a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and was reported as a major contributor in 1962 (he also contributes to For America -- \$1,150 in 1961-62); he evidently gives the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists an annual \$100 contribution; he is in at least two Liebman organizations (Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters and Committee for Monroe Doctrine); is a Manion Forum sponsor; a National Economic Council director (and reported as a major contributor in 1961) and in earlier years has been on the Board of Fellows of the Freedom School and the Advisory Board of Liberty Lobby.

Robert Donner - A retired steel executive who lives in Colorado Springs and in earlier years worked with the late Merwin K. Hart (of the National Economic Council) and plugged Gerald L. K. Smith's Cross and the Flag. (Forster and Epstein, The Troublemakers, Doubleday, 1952, pp. 203 and 208) An early member of For America, Donner left the organization because it wasn't as politically active in 1954 as he desired. He has served as a director of Freedom School at Colorado Springs and is on the Senior Advisory Board of the American Security Council. He is the chairman of the Independence Foundation (named the Donner Foundation prior to 1962), for which a listing of grant recipients for the years 1958-59 includes: American Economic Foundation (\$69,250), Harding College (\$38,000), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$10,000), Church League of America (\$3,750), and Freedom School (\$1,500 -- in 1957, its first year of operation). No comparable listing is available for 1962, but the Foundation reported total grants of more than \$2 million that year.

TABLE 4

LEADING CONTRIBUTORS TO 20 SELECTED OPERATIONS

	Milliken Family; Deering Milliken, Inc.; Deering Milliken Fdn.	J. Howard Pew; Pew Freedom Trust; Pew Memorial Fdn.	F. Cano Chance; Chance Fdn.	Charles Hook; Armco Fdn.	Charles Edison; Brook Fdn.	Robert M. Gaylord; Inger- soll Milling Co.; Ingersoll Fdn.	A. G. Heinsohn, Jr.; Chero- kee Mills; Spindale Mills; Ada Hearne Fdn.	Eli Lilly; Lilly Endowment	Herbert C. Stockham; Stockham Fdn.	William J. Grede; Grede Fdn.	Mr. & Mrs. DeWitt Wallace; Readers Digest Fdn.	Edwin L. Wiegand	Barber-Colman Co.; Barber-Colman Fdn.	Philip McKenna; Kennametal, Inc.; Kennametal Fdn.	Harry L. Bradley; Allen Bradley Co.	Walter Harnischfeger; Har- nischfeger Corp.; Harnisch- feger Fdn.	Robert E. Wood; Sears Roebuck Fdn.	Robert Donner; Independence (formerly Donner) Fdn.	Donaldson Brown; Mt. Ararat Fdn.	Robert Dresser
American Economic Fdn.	X	X	X	XX	Y	XX	XX	XX			XX		X	X		X		XX	XX	
Americans for Const'l Action	XX	X			XX	X	X	X		X	XX	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
America's Future	XX	Y	X	XX	X	X			X	X		Y	X	X		X	Y		XX	
Christian Anti-Comm'm Crusade	X		X		Y			X							XX				X	
Christian Freedom Fdn.		XX					X			X		X		XX			X			
Church League of America			X		X							Y				X	X	X		
Circuit Riders			X	X				XX											X	
Cit'ns Foreign Aid/For America	XX	XX	Y	Y	X		XX		Y			X				XX	X			X
Fdn. for Economic Education	XX	X		X	X	XX		XX	X	X			XX	X		X			Y	
Freedom School	XX		X			X				X		Y	X		X	X		X	Y	
Freedoms Fdn., Valley Forge		XX	X	XX	X				X		X					X	XX			
Human Events ^a	X	Y	X		Y	Y	X		X	Y		Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Intercollegiate Soc. Ind'sts	XX	X	X	X	X	X	X	XX	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	XX		X
John Birch Society ^a	Y	Y	Y		Y		X			Y		Y			X				Y	
Liebman "Complex"	X	XX			X			XX		X	X									Y
Manion Forum ^b	X		X	X	X		X		X			X		X	X	X				X
Nat'l Economic Council		Y					X		Y	Y		X			XX	XX	Y		X	X
Nat'l Educ'n Program (Harding)		X	X	XX			X		X		X					X	X	XX		
National Review ^a	X	Y			Y	X							X	X	X	X				
20th Century Reformation Hour		X	Y						Y											

XX - Major contributor

X - Contributors

Y - Affiliated in some way; possible contributors

^a Advertisers in magazine regarded as "contributors."^b Those listed as Sponsors or Endorsers regarded as "contributors."

Charles Edison -- Former Chairman of McGraw-Edison Co., and a leading figure on the right. In addition to serving on the Editorial Advisory Board of American Opinion, Edison is Treasurer of Americans for Constitutional Action (and its leading contributor - \$19,200 through 1963), served as a co-chairman of the Schwarz rally in New York City in 1962, is on the Committee of Endorsers of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (and has contributed to For America), was on the American Economic Foundation's advisory board for their "Hall of Free Enterprise" project, was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events, works extremely closely with Marvin Liebman in virtually all of his various organizations, is a Manion Forum sponsor, and was one of those congratulating National Review on its establishment. He is also the primary donor of the Brook Foundation, which made grants of more than \$28,000 in 1962. While no listing of recipients is available for that year, one for 1960 included America's Future, Liebman's America-Asian Educational Exchange (of which Edison is Chairman), Church League of America, Foundation for Economic Education, Freedoms Foundation, and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.

Robert M. Gaylord -- Chairman of Ingersoll Milling Machine Co., of Rockford, Ill., which advertises in National Review. A former President of the National Association of Manufacturers, Gaylord is currently a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (and a financial contributor to the latter). He is another listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber" and has contributed at least \$1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action. The Ingersoll Foundation, to which both Gaylord and the firm contribute, gave to the following during the five years 1957-61: American Economic Foundation (\$7,725), America's Future (\$2,300), Foundation for Economic Education (\$40,848), Freedom School (\$4,100), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$4,900).

William Grede -- Head of a Milwaukee foundry and former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, Grede is on the John Birch Society's five-man Executive Committee, and a stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc. Grede is a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, a trustee of Freedom School, was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events, is a Manion Forum sponsor, and spoke at the National Education Program's 1964 Freedom Forum. He has personally loaned \$1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action and contributed small amounts to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The Grede Foundation reported 1962 grants to: America's Future (\$100), Foundation for Economic Education (\$350), Freedom School (\$1,065), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$100). In 1960 the Christian Freedom Foundation reported receiving \$1,000 from the Grede Foundation.

Walter Harnischfeger -- Chairman of the Harnischfeger Corp., of Milwaukee, which advertises in National Review and is listed as a major contributor in 1961 by the National Economic Council, of which Harnischfeger himself is a director. He is also Chairman of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, and evidently its leading financial supporter; a trustee of America's Future; a Manion Forum sponsor; and a "charter subscriber" to Human Events. He has contributed at least \$2,700 to Americans for Constitutional Action, and the Harnischfeger Foundation reported grants (mostly small) in 1962 to: American Econ-

omic Foundation, America's Future, Church League of America, Foundation for Economic Education, Freedom School, Freedoms Foundation, Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (to which Harnischfeger has also given directly), and Harding College.

A. G. Heinsohn, Jr. -- Head of Cherokee Textile Mills and of Spindale Mills. Heinsohn is on the Executive Committee of the John Birch Society, is a stockholder in Robert Welch, Inc., and his firms advertise in American Opinion. He is also a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, a charter subscriber to Human Events, a Manion Forum sponsor, and a director of the National Economic Council. He has given at least \$1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action, has been reported by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee as a major contributor each year, 1960-62, and was so reported by the National Economic Council in 1961. In 1948 he established the Ada Hearne Foundation, which made grants in 1959 and 1960 (the only years for which listings are available) to: American Economic Foundation (\$19,540), Christian Freedom Foundation (\$6,500), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$1,000), and Harding College (\$1,000). The Foundation also made a \$1,000 grant in 1959 to the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which disbursed most of its grants to Human Events.

Charles Hook -- The late Mr. Hook was a former President of the National Association of Manufacturers as well as head of Armco Steel and of the Armco Foundation. He was a trustee of America's Future, a sponsor of the Manion Forum, and served (prior to 1957) on the Policy Committee of For America. During the years 1954-62, the Foundation's grants included: American Economic Foundation (\$43,055), America's Future (\$26,000), Foundation for Economic Education (\$4,992), Freedoms Foundation (\$77,500), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$1,950), Harding College (\$67,500), and one minor grant to Circuit Riders.

Eli Lilly -- Now honorary chairman of Eli Lilly Co., the Indianapolis pharmaceutical firm, and a donor as well as Treasurer of the Lilly Endowment. Lilly himself gave \$1,200 to Americans for Constitutional Action in 1962. The Endowment's grants in 1962 (the only year for which a listing is available), included: American Economic Foundation (\$10,000), Foundation for Economic Education (\$25,000), and Marvin Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange (\$25,000). In addition, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists reported \$50,000 in grants from the Endowment over a two-year period, and a news item credited it with contributing \$5,000 to Fred Schwarz for his 1963 "School" in Indianapolis.

Philip M. McKenna -- President of Kennametal, Inc., which advertises in National Review. A former trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action (which he loaned \$2,500 in 1962), McKenna is a charter subscriber to Human Events and a sponsor of the Manion Forum. He gave \$10,000 to the Christian Freedom Foundation over a two-year period, and the Kennametal Foundation, in the two years for which listings are available, has made grants to American Economic Foundation (\$2,500 in 1962), America's Future (\$500 in 1962), and the Foundation for Economic Education (\$400 in 1958).

Milliken family and Deering Milliken, Inc. -- The

"Milliken family" is listed by Human Events as charter subscribers and the family firm advertises regularly in National Review. Roger Milliken, the President of Deering Milliken, Inc., is on the Committee of Endorsers of the John Birch Society. In addition, he is: an adviser to the American Economic Foundation (for its "Hall of Free Enterprise" project), a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (and has been listed as a major contributor each year, 1960-62), a trustee of Freedom School, a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education, an advisor to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and a sponsor of the Manion Forum. Gerrish H. Milliken, Jr., a director in the firm, gave the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists \$3,500 in 1959 and has contributed at least \$200 to Americans for Constitutional Action. Minot K. Milliken, the firm's Vice-President and Treasurer, served as a sponsor for Fred Schwarz's 1962 rally in New York City. Mrs. Seth Milliken, whose husband was evidently a firm vice-president in earlier years, has headed her own right-wing operation, Public Action, Inc., as well as being an Endorser of the John Birch Society, a sponsor of the Manion Forum, a member of at least one Liebman operation (the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine), and a major contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action (\$5,000).

The Deering Milliken Foundation reported grants to the following in 1962: Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange (\$1,000), American Economic Foundation (\$1,000), America's Future (\$1,400), Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (\$2,500), Foundation for Economic Education (\$5,100), Freedom School (\$100,000), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$2,500). In earlier years the Foundation also reported grants to the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which helped underwrite Human Events.

J. Howard Pew -- Chairman of Sun Oil and long-time foe of the New Deal and all successor tendencies. Mr. Pew is on the Editorial Advisory Committee of American Opinion and is a stockholder in its publisher, Robert Welch, Inc. He has contributed at least \$3,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action. He reportedly put up the money for the establishment of Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation and, in four recent years for which data are available, contributed nearly \$1 million to it (thus personally accounting for a majority of its income). He is a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and has been reported as a major contributor each year, 1960-62. He is a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education, a member of Liebman's Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, was a charter subscriber to Human Events, and congratulated National Review on its establishment. He has personally contributed to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$2,000 in 1961 for example), to Liberty Lobby (\$1,000 in 1963), and to the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China (\$1,000). In earlier years he has been reported as a supporter of America's Future and of Merwin Hart's National Economic Council (Buchanan Committee hearings), and as a contributor to Carl McIntire (Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord, Beacon, 1953, p. 304).

The J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust reported in 1962 grants to Christian Freedom Foundation (\$20,000) and to American Economic Foundation and the Foundation for Economic Education (\$2,000 each). In earlier years

there was also a Pew Memorial Foundation which reported, for 1955-56, grants to Freedoms Foundation (\$20,000), and Harding College (\$10,000).

Herbert C. Stockham -- General Manager of Stockham Valves and Fittings, a Birmingham firm which advertises in Human Events. Herbert Stockham is a sponsor of the Manion Forum and was listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber." In earlier years he was reported as a contributor to Merwin Hart's National Economic Council. (Buchanan Committee hearings, Part 4, p. 254) The William H. and Kate F. Stockham Foundation, to which the family firm is apparently the major contributor, reported 1962 grants including the following: America's Future (\$500), Circuit Riders (\$5,000), Foundation for Economic Education (\$2,000), Harding College (\$5,000), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$2,000). It also reported grants to the American and International Councils of Christian Churches, in which Carl McIntire plays a leading role.

DeWitt and Lila Wallace -- Founders and publishers of Reader's Digest. The Wallaces have given at least \$10,350 to Americans for Constitutional Action (ranking them second only to ACA Treasurer Charles Edison in support of the organization), and the Reader's Digest Foundation reported grants in the three years 1959-61 including: American Economic Foundation (\$10,500), Freedoms Foundation (\$5,500), Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange (\$2,000), Harding College (\$1,500), and the Foundation for Economic Education (\$500).

Edwin L. Wiegand -- Chairman of the Pittsburgh electrical heating equipment firm of the same name. With his wife, Mr. Wiegand has contributed \$1,500 to Americans for Constitutional Action and loaned it an additional \$2,500; he is a former trustee of America's Future; he contributed \$1,665 to Christian Freedom Foundation during the years 1958-9; he is a director of the Church League of America; he contributed \$1,350 to For America in 1956; he is a former member of the Board of Fellows of Freedom School, and was listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber;" he has contributed to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$300 each in 1959 and 1961); he is on the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers, on Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, and is a sponsor of the Manion Forum; and he is a director of the National Economic Council (and was listed as a major contributor in 1961).

Gen. Robert E. Wood (retired) -- Former chairman of Sears Roebuck and still a director. His many right-wing affiliations include: a fund-raiser for American Security Council (and a member of its Senior Advisory Board); contributed over \$3,300 to Americans for Constitutional Action; a former trustee of America's Future; contributed \$1,000 to Christian Freedom Foundation in 1962; a member of Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, and listed as a major contributor in at least two recent years (he was also a major leader of For America and contributed \$2,725 to it in 1956); hosted the luncheon at which Human Events was launched; on the Advisory Board of Life Lines; and a contributor to the National Education Program at Harding. In earlier years he was a contributor to Merwin Hart's National Economic Council. (Buchanan Committee hearings, Part 4, p. 161)

→ The firm of Sears Roebuck has been listed as a contributor by both the Church League of America and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The Sears Roebuck Foundation gave \$25,000 to Freedoms Foundation in 1961.

Other Important Contributors

Not all of the leading supporters of the right-wing spread their contributions among as many operations as those in Table 4 and some concentrate their support on one or a few operations. As might be expected, the leading contributors to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, for example, do not show up as important contributors to the more respectable right (with a couple of exceptions, which will be noted) Smith appears to be another whose major support is broadly based. For the eight years, 1955-62, less than 5% of his contributions were accounted for by the 18 persons who led the list with totals in excess of \$2,500. (And, only two of these went over \$5,000 for the period: an F. J. Martin, of Toledo, Ohio, with \$7,792, and a C. Cleveland, of Ft. Worth, Texas, with \$5,096.)

The following 25 financial supporters, which were noted during the present study but do not appear in Table 4, seem worthy of mention.

Lemuel R. Boulware -- A former Vice-President of General Electric (for employee relations), Boulware is a trustee of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and contributed \$11,200 to ISI in the two years 1961-62. He has also given \$3,500 to Americans for Constitutional Action, and has spoken at Freedom Forums both at Harding College and at Pepperdine College.

→ Joe Crail -- Crail is the President of Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, of Los Angeles, one of the nation's biggest. It operates its own Free Enterprise Bureau, budgeted at a quarter-of-a-million dollars a year (Alan Westin in Commentary, December, 1963), the purpose of which, Crail says, "is to preserve a climate of economic opinion favorable to Americanism," with advertising as "a surprisingly successful by-product." (Calif. State Assembly, Interim Committee Reports, 1961-63, Vol. 4, No. 7, p. 67) Crail is a trustee of America's Future, and was a charter subscriber to Human Events.

Jasper Crane -- A former DuPont vice-president and still a director of the firm, Crane is a Vice-President of the Foundation for Economic Education, a member of the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, and on Human Events' charter subscription list. He has contributed \$1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action and loaned ACA another \$2,500. The Curran Foundation lists its address as "c/o Jasper E. Crane," but in recent years has filed the required returns with Internal Revenue in only 1958 and 1961. Neither of these gave a listing of grant recipients (the latter year indicated a total of \$35,000 in contributions made), but returns filed by American Economic Foundation, Christian Freedom Foundation, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists all reflected grants from the Curran Foundation -- AEF reported \$5,000 in 1962, CFF reported \$5,000 in the same year (and in prior years), and ISI reported \$3,000 in 1961.

Frank DeGanahl -- A familiar name on the right-wing, DeGanahl is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers, of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee's Committee of Endorsers, of the Committee on the Monroe Doctrine, of the advisory body for the American Economic Foundation's "Hall of Free Enterprise" project, a "charter subscriber" to Human Events, and a former stockholder in National Review. He contributed \$2,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action in 1963, \$2,000 to the Christian Freedom Foundation in 1959, and smaller amounts to For America and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists in other years. He is reported as a major contributor by the National Economic Council in 1961.

Pierre S. DuPont -- A Vice-President of E. I. DuPont de Nemours, he has been second only to the late Merwin Hart in the number of times he was reported as a major contributor to the National Economic Council (in 9 quarters during the period 1957-61 -- indicating at least \$4,500 in contributions during the period).

Edgar Ainsworth Eyre -- Eyre is a director of W. R. Grace & Co. and of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad. He is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers and, together with Mrs. Eyre, has contributed some \$8,660 to Americans for Constitutional Action and loaned it another \$2,500.

Frank S. Flick -- The head of Flick-Reedy Corp., a suburban Chicago manufacturing firm, Flick has been a leading figure in the income tax-repeal movement. In addition to being Illinois State Chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee, he formerly served as General Manager of Freedom, the Committee's magazine. He is a Manion Forum sponsor and was chosen 1963's "Patriot of the Year" by We, The People! When Billy James Hargis and Gen. Walker appeared in Chicago in early 1963, Flick donated the use of his firm's auditorium. He has been reported as a contributor (at least \$100 in 1962) to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation. His firm, like Joe Crail's Coast Federal Savings and Loan, has its own "Americanism" program, the Flick-Reedy Education Association, which sponsors a "rightist course designed by George A. Roberts of Texas" and "full of inane statements." (Alan Westin, Commentary, December, 1963). The size of the Association's budget is not known. In addition, Flick heads a tax-exempt organization called the Institute for Economic Inquiry which provides instruction in "free enterprise" economics free to the public.

Patrick Frawley -- Chairman of the Board of both the Schick Safety Razor Co. (which advertises regularly in National Review), and Technicolor, Inc., Frawley has been a leading financial backer of Dr. Fred Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, both directly and through sponsorship of his firms (see, for example, Janson and Eismann, The Far Right, pp. 66-7). Frawley has also actively supported fund-raising efforts of the American Security Council and Freedoms Foundation. Other recipients of Frawley contributions have been the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (\$10,000 in 1962), and Americans for Constitutional Action (\$100 in 1963). He has served on at least one Liebman operation, the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Galt, of Chicago -- This couple

ranks near the top of reported contributors to For America in recent years -- they gave \$1,200 in 1961 and another \$1,100 in 1962.

Pierre Goodrich -- An Indianapolis attorney who heads Indiana Telephone Corp. and several other firms, Goodrich is a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education. He was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events and reportedly was once active in the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, which subsidized Human Events. Goodrich himself has contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action (\$500 in 1960); and the Winchester Foundation, to which he and some of his firms are the leading contributors, reported grants in the years 1959-61 which included: Foundation for Economic Education (\$17,250), Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$2,730), and Freedom School (\$750).

Joseph R. Grundy -- A former Republican senator from Pennsylvania, the late Mr. Grundy (deceased 3/3/61) was a leading contributor to Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council -- reported as a "major contributor" every year from 1957 through 1961 (a total of 6 quarters, or at least \$3,000).

Countess Rosalind Guardabassi -- Daughter of a textile manufacturer, Countess Guardabassi has been an important contributor to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade (\$3,425 in 1962), and to the National Economic Council (listed as a "major contributor" in each year, 1960-62). She is an endorser of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and gave \$1,100 to For America in the years 1961-62. She has also been listed as a contributor to the National States Rights Party, and is reported to have arranged for an August, 1962 meeting of Gen. Walker with about fifty guests at her home in Prides Crossing, Mass. (N.Y. Post 3/30/64).

H. L. Hunt -- The well-known Texas oil-billionaire makes no secret of his close connection with Life Line (he said in 1961 that "I now devote most of my time and energies" to Life Line). Former Life Line commentator Wayne Poucher has indicated that supervision of the program by Mr. Hunt is close and continuing. In addition, it is primarily Hunt firms that sponsor Life Line on the local stations. HLH Parade (his food processing firm) spends a reported \$100,000 a month on Life Line. (N.Y. Times 8/17/64) The names of direct contributors to Life-Line Foundation are not generally available but a congressional subcommittee has revealed that, during the years 1951-63, Hunt gave some \$2.9 million to Life Line and its predecessor, Facts Forum -- 96% of their total contributions for the period. (Wash. Star 9/1/64)

Walter Knott -- Proprietor of Knott's Berry Farm and "Ghost Town" in Buena Park, California, Knott is the Treasurer of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., the leading income tax-repeal organization. Until recently, Knott ran the California Free Enterprise Association, another "Americanism" education operation, as a part of the business. When Internal Revenue refused to regard it as a business operation for tax purposes, however, Knott arranged for it to become part of the tax-exempt Americanism Educational League, of which he was already Vice-Chairman of the Board.

Knott served on the steering committee for a 1961 Schwarz "school" and subsequently as a sponsor for the Latin America literature project of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. He is also on the Advisory Board of Hargis' Christian Crusade. His reported financial contributions include: American Economic Foundation

(\$6,000 in 1962, with his wife), Americans for Constitutional Action (\$1,750 plus a \$1,000 loan), Christian Freedom Foundation (\$500 in 1962), and For America (\$100 in 1961).

D. B. Lewis -- The head of a Los Angeles pet food firm (Dr. Ross'), Lewis is a member of the John Birch Society's Committee of Endorsers, his firm advertises in American Opinion, and Robert Welch has described him as "a strong friend of the Society in many much more substantial ways." (Bulletin, June, 1962) His firm is particularly important in right-wing radio and television sponsorship. He is the leading backer of Dan Smoot (over 50 radio stations and more than 30 TV outlets); sponsors Manion Forum widely in the western states; and now sponsors a regular radio show featuring former Congressman Donald Jackson.

Edgar Bundy of the Church League has acknowledged TV sponsorship by Lewis and when Robert Welch made a major speech in Los Angeles in 1962, Lewis' firm sponsored it on the local television. The firm has also run, "as a public service," ads giving the ratings of candidates on "constitutional principles." (These led to an indictment for violation of the law against corporate spending to influence elections, but the trial ended in a hung jury.)

In addition to such direct aid, Lewis is a member of the Advisory Board of Hargis' Christian Crusade, and is a leader of the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes.

Harold Luhnow -- Head of both the Volker furniture firm and the William Volker Fund, Luhnow was an initial trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education (serving until 1952), supported Merwin Hart and the National Economic Council, and reportedly supported the National Education Program at Harding College. (See Buchanan Committee hearings on both Foundation for Economic Education and National Economic Council.) The William Volker Fund, which was the largest single contributor to the Foundation for Economic Education in its early years, has also supported Harding College (\$10,000 in 1952), the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$4,300 in 1959), and the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship (\$5,000 in 1952).

George S. Montgomery -- A corporation lawyer in New York City, Montgomery has been a leading contributor to For America (\$2,400 in 1961-62), as well as an endorser of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. He is a Vice-President of the National Economic Council and has been a contributor to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$500 in 1959).

Sterling Morton -- The former head of the Morton Salt Co., he was one of those attending the luncheon at which Human Events was launched, and has also been listed as a stockholder in National Review. He has been a major contributor to the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (reported each year, 1959-61), and earlier had been a member of For America's Policy Committee and a contributor to that organization (\$1,000 in 1956). He gave \$100 to Intercollegiate Society of Individualists each year, 1956-59. He has probably also contributed to Harding College, which has awarded him an honorary degree.

Penthouse Trust -- The principals of this Boston philanthropic trust are Miss Hope Gray and Miss Olive Simes,

both of whom are not only Endorsers of the John Birch Society, but stockholders in Robert Welch, Inc. The trust itself shares an address with Col. Laurence E. Bunker, a member of the National Council of the John Birch Society, and reportedly the closest advisor to the Misses Gray and Simes. These facts plus statements by unnamed Society members have resulted in speculation that the Penthouse Trust is a major, if not the leading, source of financial support for the John Birch Society. (See N.Y. Post 4/2/64) Additionally, Miss Simes appears to be second only to the Pew family in her support of Howard Kershner's Christian Freedom Foundation, which reported \$46,744 in contributions from her during a four-year period. She has also served on at least one Liebman operation, the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine. Finally, the Christian Nationalist Crusade of Gerald L. K. Smith has reported, during the years 1956-62, a total of \$1,535 from "O. Simes, Boston, Mass." and \$202 from "H. Gray, Boston, Mass."

Bernard Peyton -- Former head of the New York Air Brake Co. and still a director of the DuPont corporation, Peyton has been a leading contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action (\$6,500). He was listed as a major contributor by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee in both 1961 and 1962, and was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events.

Relm Foundation -- Founded in 1950 by retired oilman, Harry Boyd Earhart, and still headed by his son-in-law, James A. Kennedy, the Relm Foundation has been an important source of funds for the American Economic Foundation (\$38,800 in the years 1957-60), Foundation for Economic Education (\$29,500 in the same period), and Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (\$17,208 in the same period). In earlier years, Earhart himself had been a supporter of Merwin Hart's National Economic Council (see Buchanan Committee hearings).

Richardson Foundation -- This multi-million dollar foundation was first set up in 1935 by members of the Richardson family. Chief donor was H. Smith Richardson, Sr., then head of the Vick Chemical Co.; and head of the foundation now is H. Smith Richardson, Jr., who is also head of Richardson-Merrell, Inc., now the parent-firm of the chemical combine. It has been a large contributor to Freedoms Foundation (\$21,000 in 1961 and \$10,000 in 1962). Its major interest, however, would appear to be in what is frequently characterized as "hard-line" foreign policy. Thus, it has reported more than a half-million dollars in grants to the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania, headed by Robert Strausz-Hupe. Similarly, it has given nearly \$100,000 to the Institute for American Strategy and its program of military-industrial conferences and "cold war" seminars.

Hubbard Russell -- A California rancher who died in late 1963, Russell was a leading contributor to For America (\$2,300 in 1961-62), of which he had been one of the organizers, and was also a member of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. He was a member of the John Birch Society (1963 Report of a California Senate Subcommittee); a "charter subscriber" to Human Events; a trustee of the Manion Forum (and a member of its 3-man governing board); a member of the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine; and a member of the Executive Committee of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A.

Alfred P. Sloan Foundation -- Established by the former head of General Motors, the Foundation was instrumental in making the National Education Program of Harding College a leading producer and distributor of free enterprise, anti-communist, "educational materials." Grants to NEP from the Foundation had exceeded the half-million dollar mark by 1951, and have continued in smaller amounts in later years. For the two years, 1958-59, the Foundation reported grants to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge (\$20,000), Foundation for Economic Education (\$15,000), and Harding (\$10,000).

Edwin S. Webster -- An investment banker (Kidder, Peabody and Co.), Webster has been one of the leading contributors to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, of which he is a trustee. ISI reported grants from him totalling \$16,750 for the years 1955-58. Webster was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events and also has been listed as a stockholder of National Review. In earlier years he was a contributor to the National Economic Council. (Buchanan Committee hearings)

Conclusion and Comments


What conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing study? First, that the American right-wing is a multi-million dollar enterprise. It should be remembered that this study deals only with 30 operations in a field where the total number, even by a relatively narrow definition, may well be in the hundreds. Add to this the fact that a substantial number of major ones haven't been touched on, either due to limitations of information or of space.

Thus, for example, such major exceptions to this study as the Liberty Amendment Committee, Young Americans for Freedom, We, The People!, Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms (a temporary, but major operation), Americanism Educational League, Southern States Industrial Council, Committee for Constitutional Government, American Council of Christian Laymen, Congress of Freedom, and Association of American Physicians and Surgeons -- to name ten -- would probably add another \$1 to \$2 million a year to the current figures.

Less spectacular, but more substantial in the big picture, would be the total of the relatively small amounts spent by the extremely numerous local organizations and affiliates. As is noted in Appendix B, for example, the segregationist "resistance movement" in the South, taken alone, may amount to as much as \$1 to \$2 million a year. The figures represented by the myriad speeches and lectures of the apparently-indefatigable spokesmen of the right would also run up to an impressive sum. To this should be added the budgets of local American Opinion Libraries and Bookstores, not to mention such national operations as The Bookmailer and Poor Richard's and the spending of local groups on the rental of tapes and filmstrips (not all of which come from the organizations covered in this study, by any means).

Thus, considering all of these aspects, it seems likely that the total spending of the right wing in America is at least twice that portion which is represented by data in this study, especially if one retains the relatively broad definition of right wing that has been applied here.

Thus, a reasonably conservative guess of the total would be \$30 million a year.



A second conclusion that deserves emphasis is that the right-wing is not a recent development. Of the 30 operations covered in this study, all but seven date back at least to 1955. (Two of these in the "Liebman complex" are recent arrivals on the scene, but the others date back to the 1950's.) No less than eleven of the thirty date back to the 1940's or earlier. The National Economic Council, for example, has been around in some form since 1930.

Third, the rate of growth reflected in the figures is truly impressive. Even if one excludes 1960 and 1961 as "abnormal" growth years, the average annual rate of increase shown by the figures is over 17% and would result in a doubling of the total every 4-1/2 years. While it is true that some sort of "leveling off" process is to be expected in the future, this remains a reflection of long-term strength, based as it is on a period of some eight years.

One further comparison may help in putting the figures into perspective. While financial figures for the Communist Party in the U. S. are not generally available, the Federal government has estimated that the Party's total income in 1951 was under \$392,000, and its membership at that time about 31,600. At its peak, in the mid-1940's, the Party had a total membership of about 80,000 and thus, presumably, an income of less than \$1 million a year. The John Birch Society had topped that by the fifth year of its existence.

Fourth, it seems fair to say that a very large amount of the finances of the right-wing has some sort of privileged status under the tax-laws. The prevalent role of tax-free foundations and trusts in the section above dealing with sources of finances is due in part to the fact that information on these is more readily available to the public. But it must also be regarded as evidence of the attractiveness to larger contributors of such a technique. Without denying that the problem of drawing a line between "education" and "propaganda" is an extremely difficult one -- especially in a society that is committed to freedom of thought and expression -- the situation disclosed by the foregoing information indicates that the American taxpayers are indirectly supporting far more of the political and economic right wing than they realize. And the amount is increasing.

Appendix A

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The data in Tables 1 through 3 were based on the following sources. Adjustments to a calendar-year assumed that income was evenly distributed throughout a fiscal year.

American Economic Foundation -- Form 990 A informational returns filed with Internal Revenue Service; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending September 30.

American Security Council -- Estimated. Published figures for three years are available -- N. Y. Times 7/10/58 referred to annual budget of \$100,000; St. Louis Post-Dispatch 8/13/61 referred to income for previous year of \$227,000; Janson and Eismann, in The Far Right (McGraw-Hill, 1963), refer to spending of "a quarter of a million dollars a year." The Council's fiscal year ends on March 31 and adjustment for this, combined with straight-line interpolation and extrapolation gave figures utilized. (The assumption of linear growth is supported by a 1961 brochure which said ASC had "more than doubled in size each year.")

Americans for Constitutional Action -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. ACA was established in mid-1958. The 1962 figure includes \$46,000 in loans.

America's Future -- Form 990A returns for all years except 1961, when no return was filed; figure for that year is interpolated.

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade -- Form 990A returns. Figure for 1955 partially estimated -- exemption application file includes figures for period November, 1953 through May, 1955; first 990A return covers calendar 1956.

Christian Crusade -- Form 990A returns. Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc. is tax-exempt name under which Hargis operates.

Christian Freedom Foundation -- Form 990A returns; total income figures for 1955-57 arrived at on basis of partial data furnished by publicly available portions of the returns.

Christian Nationalist Crusade -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. It is not clear whether these reports include the budget of The Cross and the Flag.

Church League of America -- Form 990A returns. Total income for 1955 arrived at on basis of partial data furnished by publicly available portion of the return.

Circuit Riders -- Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending October 31. Figure for 1962 partially estimated (last two months).

Citizens Councils of America -- Estimated. Wall Street Journal 5/23/63 reported figure of \$200,000 for previous year; figures for earlier years based on this, combined

with reported circulation figures for their official publication, The Citizen, and assuming an independent growth-rate in the budget of 10% annually (an arbitrary factor intended to allow for the cumulative character of money-raising activities). Note that these estimates are for the federation only, and do not include state and local councils. The Southern Regional Council estimated the total "southern resistance movement" at \$2 million in 1956 (N. Y. Times 12/2/56).

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee / For America -- Figures for CFAC are based on reports filed under the Lobbying Act (which represent only that share of total budget considered by the organization to be directly related to "lobbying"), multiplied by a factor of 4. (Gen. Fellers gave their budget figure in 1961 as "about \$50,000" but they only reported \$12,000 under the Lobbying Act.) For America figures are from reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. The two organizations are combined because they now operate jointly.

Common Sense -- Estimated. Circulation figures have been reported to the Post Office Department for 1960 and years since; they are estimated for 1958 and 1959; and a budget figure of \$2 per copy is used in arriving at the estimates shown. (Subscription rate is \$1 in an unsealed envelope, \$3 in a sealed envelope. The 1954 Preliminary Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicated that the budget for Common Sense -- including sale of pamphlets and reprints -- averaged about \$2 per subscriber at that time.)

Courtney "complex" -- The Courtneys publish The Independent American, have a radio program, publish books and pamphlets, and operate the Conservative Society of America (set up in 1961). Life 2/9/62 quoted them as reporting an income in 1960 of \$133,000; Janson and Eismann (The Far Right, McGraw-Hill, 1963) were given a figure of \$150,000 for 1961. Other years have been estimated, based on changes in the size of their "radio network" and in circulation reported by them for The Independent American.

Daughters of the American Revolution, National Defense Committee -- Annual reports; adjusted to a calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending February 28.

Foundation for Economic Education -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31.

Freedom School -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending September 30. Figures for 1957 and 1962 partially estimated since returns were not available for a full year in either case.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge -- Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending June 30.

Human Events -- Gross sales figures have been reported for years 1955 through 1961 (fiscal year ending on June 30); after adjustment to calendar-year basis, 1961 through 1963 were extrapolated on the basis of reported circula-

tion figures. (In 1963 the format was changed and subscription rate cut substantially, resulting in a lower estimate for that year in spite of continued circulation increase.)

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31. Figures for 1959 and 1960 partially estimated since there was no return filed for fiscal 1960.

John Birch Society -- Reports filed with Massachusetts Commissioner of Charities.

Liberty Lobby -- Estimated. Partial figures for 1961-63 were reported under the Lobbying Act, with an indication in some quarters as to what portion of total budget was being reported. Total figures for these 3 years were estimated on the basis of the partial figures reported. A figure for 1957 was reported by Willis Carto, Liberty Lobby's Treasurer, in Right, January, 1958. Figures for 1958-60 were interpolated on a straight-line basis.

Liebman "complex" -- For American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange: Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending August 31; for American Jewish League Against Communism: Form 990A returns; for Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations: Reports filed with New York Department of Social Welfare, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31; for American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters: Reports filed with New York Department of Social Welfare; for Committee for the Monroe Doctrine: Reports filed with New York Department of Social Welfare, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending October 31.

Life Line -- Form 990A returns, adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending September 30; plus estimates for cost of radio-television time. Latter estimates based on average size of "network" multiplied by \$1,750 -- one-half the figure utilized in estimating cost of air time for Rev. McIntire's 30 minute daily program (see below). This is an extremely conservative estimate as is indicated by the fact that it gives a figure of just over a half-million dollars for 1963 when a recent news report (N. Y. Times 8/17/64) refers to "about \$2 million of air time annually for Life Line."

Manion Forum -- Figures for 1956 through 1959 from reports filed with the Indiana Secretary of State; other years estimated on basis of average size of radio "network."

National Economic Council -- Based on reports filed under the Lobbying Act. While these reports include only what is regarded as being directly related to lobbying, they frequently indicate what proportion of the total budget is represented.

National Education Program -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending August 31. Figure for 1962 partially estimated (September-December).

National Review -- Estimated. Buckley himself, in the 10/10/59 issue, gave summary figures for 1958. Using these as a bench-mark, other years have been estimated on the basis of: circulation (as reported to Post Office Dept. and to Standard Rate and Data Service); average subscription rate (increasing from \$7 in 1956 to \$11.50 in 1962); average amount of advertising space (based on sample counts); and per-page ad rate of \$250 through 1958 and \$280 thereafter (this is quite low according to rates quoted in Standard Rate and Data Service -- except for book ads -- but is in line with figure given by Buckley for 1958).

Dan Smoot -- Estimated. Paid circulation figures are available for all years and these were multiplied by subscription rate to get estimates of income from the Report. Data in various issues of the Report also made possible estimates of the average size of Smoot's radio and television "network" during the years. A check of 21 radio and 18 television stations from his list in Standard Rate and Data Service publications indicated that his air time must cost at least \$700 a year for his radio show and at least \$2,500 a year for the television show (both are 15-minutes weekly). Combined with average "network" size, these gave estimates for air time expenditures. It should be noted that no estimate was attempted for income from books and reprints, nor for actual cost of producing the radio and TV tapes.

Twentieth Century Reformation Hour -- Estimated. In the 2/8/64 issue of Christian Beacon annual figures are given for circulation and for the growth of the radio "network" on which McIntire appears. Combining annual circulation figures with the subscription rate gives estimates for annual income from Christian Beacon. McIntire's air time (he is on daily for 30 minutes) is paid for by his own organization (at commercial rates, he contends). A check of Standard Rate and Data Service for 32 outlets in 21 states indicates that the average cost must be about \$5,500 a year per station. In 1959, however, McIntire had indicated an average cost of about \$4,000 (Christian Beacon 3/26/59), and in subsequent statements had implied an even lower amount (as low as \$2,000 in 1960). An arbitrary figure of \$3,500 has been used in this study, as below that indicated by Standard Rate and Data Service figures but above the lowest figure implied by McIntire. Combination of this figure with the average "network" size gave estimates for his radio budget. Again, it should be noted that no attempt was made to include estimates for income from speaking engagements, books, pamphlets, and such other activities of McIntire's operation. Support for the estimates arrived at is provided by an article in the New York Post earlier this year which quoted McIntire as saying, "Our budget is easily a million dollars year."

Appendix B

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF THE GROUPS

COVERED IN THIS STUDY

American Economic Foundation -- Founded in 1939 and still headed by Fred Clark, who has called for repeal of the income tax and referred to "the intellectual New Dealers, ADA'ers, and more recently New Frontiersmen" as "witch doctors." AEF includes among its trustees Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, who is active in several other right-wing causes, including Life Line and the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. AEF's program concentrates on teaching "free enterprise" economics in schools and through in-plant programs of business firms. It opposes government economic programs ("Government is never a source of goods"), urges breaking up of labor union "monopoly," and expresses concern about "the capricious hand of the Supreme Court." A leading current project is the "Hall of Free Enterprise" at the New York World's Fair.

American Security Council -- Set up in 1955 by an ex-FBI man, ASC combines industrial security research (bluntly called a "loyalty-security blacklist" by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch) with a "cold war" education program and "hard-line" foreign policy recommendations. It is headed by John Fisher, a former special assistant to Gen. Robert E. Wood, a long-time major figure in the right wing. Its "National Strategy Council" includes Gen. Wedemeyer, Adm. Ben Moreell (head of Americans for Constitutional Action), Gen. Edward Almond (an Endorser of the John Birch Society), and Robert Morris (author of No Wonder We Are Losing and frequent right-wing candidate for office). ASC's newsletter, Washington Report, has opposed the test-ban treaty, opposed UN policy in the Congo, backed the Diem government in South Viet-Nam, and attacked the Pugwash conferences of scientists.

Americans for Constitutional Action -- Formed in 1958 as a "counter" to Americans for Democratic Action, ACA is openly political and has defined its purpose as the election of "constitutional conservatives." Its three top leaders are Adm. Ben Moreell (who calls the income tax one of the "greatest intrusions on individual freedom in the history of our Republic," and says that "Americans have been running away from their own revolution in order to embrace an alien program saturated with Marxist ideology"); Gen. Bonner Fellers (who also heads the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee and For America, and is an Endorser of the Birch Society); and Charles Edison (an Editorial Advisor to the Birch Society magazine, American Opinion). ACA is probably best known for its ratings of Senators and Representatives. These reflect ACA's opposition to aid to education, foreign aid, the farm program, social security, the test-ban treaty and civil rights legislation, among other things.

America's Future -- Originally the "radio arm" of the Committee for Constitutional Government in New York, America's Future subsequently reorganized and moved to New Rochelle. (It now claims that it has no con-

nection with CCG.) America's Future's trustees include John Birch Society Council members Tom Anderson and F. Gano Chance as well as such other outstanding rightists as Joe Crail, Walter Harnischfeger, and Herbert Philbrick. Its current leadership is headed by Rudolph Scott and Rosalie Gordon (formerly a research assistant to John T. Flynn, and author of a leading anti-Supreme Court book, Nine Men Against America). Scott is the commentator on the organization's radio show, "Behind the Headlines," which appears on nearly 400 stations. On the program he has opposed the Supreme Court's school integration decision; said that the State Department is "riddled with boondogglers, many of whom are soft on Communism;" and has warned against the "Labor Boss Monopoly." Miss Gordon edits the newsletter which reprints from Scott's broadcasts and plugs conservative books (the new "Conservative Book Club" has the same address as America's Future). America's Future also operates a textbook evaluation program, with the evaluations carried out by a committee made up of right wing academicians, such as E. Merrill Root (Birch Society Endorser), Hans Sennholz (Contributing Editor of American Opinion), and Charles C. Tansill (a regular contributor to American Opinion).

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade -- Headed by the Australian physician, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, who was first brought to the U. S. by Rev. Carl McIntire, of the Twentieth Century Reformation Hour. CACC specializes in week-long "Schools of Anti-Communism" in which Schwarz and his staff are assisted by outside "faculty" members in lectures on such topics as "Philosophy of Communism," "Communist Fronts," "Communism and Youth," and "National Suicide by International Agreement." While Schwarz denies any bias other than anti-Communist, his faculty members tend to echo the right-wing line relative to the degree of infiltration of American life, and Schwarz concedes that the schools are generally attended "by those of a conservative bent." Robert Welch has lauded the CACC as doing "a superb job" of anti-Communist "education."

Christian Crusade -- This is the organization headed by Rev. Billy James Hargis, an Endorser of the John Birch Society. His organization's Advisory Board includes 18 others linked with the Society, as well as a few who might be regarded as even more extreme than the JBS. Hargis' views include calling segregation "one of nature's universal laws;" stating that the National Council of Churches has indicted itself "on 50 counts of treason to God and country;" calling the brotherhood of man "a smokescreen;" and stating that "our problem is almost entirely from internal subversion."

Christian Freedom Foundation -- Founder and head is Howard Kershner, who has said: "In a real sense, the Communists have taken over our country." The Treasurer is Norman Vincent Peale. In addition to a regular radio program and a syndicated column by Kershner which goes free to almost 700 papers, the Foundation publishes its own fortnightly, Christian Economics, which is sent free to about 200,000 ministers. It has called TVA "socialism" and urban renewal "Marxism;" it has opposed social security and foreign aid; proposed that Communist nations "be driven from the UN;" and has

charged that "for many years the Marxists in Washington have been following the policy of appeasement."

Christian Nationalist Crusade -- The principal organizational vehicle of long-time anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith. Smith's magazine, The Cross and the Flag, is the official publication of the Crusade and the Crusade's first "principle" is listed as: "Preserve America as a Christian Nation, being conscious of the fact that there is a highly organized campaign to substitute Jewish tradition for Christian tradition."

Church League of America -- Founded in 1937 and now headed by Maj. Edgar Bundy who also works closely with Rev. Carl McIntire. Like the latter, Bundy is a leading critic of the National Council of Churches, and has said that "Communism and theological modernism are as one." He has attacked the Girl Scout Handbook as "un-American," exposed John Foster Dulles as a "friend of long standing" of Alger Hiss, and has urged U. S. withdrawal from the United Nations. The Church League warns that "Marxian Socialism is a growing force in this nation" and contends that "free enterprise is the only economic foundation upon which free institutions . . . can satisfactorily survive." Bundy is an active lecturer and the League sells and distributes films, tapes and other materials, and publishes a monthly News and Views.

Circuit Riders -- Founded in late 1951 to oppose Communism "and extreme Socialism" in the Methodist Church, Circuit Riders has broadened its interests to include other denominations in subsequent years. It specializes in "compilations" of the alleged subversive affiliations of various groups of clergymen, and its attack on 30 of the 95 Men Who Gave Us the Revised Standard Version of the Bible figured prominently in the famed Air Force Manual incident of a few years ago. Its Executive Secretary is Myers Lowman, who has spoken at Hargis meetings, and an early President was John Satterfield, more recently a leading figure in the fight against civil rights legislation.

Citizens Councils of America -- The federation of state White Citizens Councils and similar organizations, representing 11 southern states. Organized in early 1956, the federation publishes a monthly magazine, The Citizen, which follows the far-right line on many things beside segregation; and it has a radio-television series called the Citizens Council Forum, which also touches on much beside the race issue. The Administrator of the federation, William J. Simmons, contends that, in addition to integration, "welfare statism, . . . replacement of a salvational by a social gospel, the collectivization of American life, confiscatory taxes, all are components of a total, all-out assault against American conservatism."

Citizens Foreign Aid Committee/For America -- Organized in late 1958, CFAC describes itself as "crusading to kill the Foreign Aid program." Its top leadership is made up of Walter Harnischfeger, Milwaukee manufacturer and active rightist; Gen. Bonner Fellers, Birch Society Endorser; and Clarence Manion, Birch Society Council member. In addition, 16 of the other 44 members of CFAC's National Committee are

connected with the John Birch Society. In addition to its weekly newsletter, Facts on Foreign Aid, CFAC presents testimony regularly urging the cutback or elimination of aid funds. For America was organized earlier (May, 1954) and after some reorganizations, ended up with J. Bracken Lee as Chairman, Clarence Manion as Vice-Chairman, and Gen. Fellers as National Director. In 1957 it was pushing four constitutional amendments, including repeal of the income tax. By 1962 Gen. Fellers was confirming that For America and Citizens Foreign Aid Committee had "joined hands . . . in a single objective effort against foreign aid."

Common Sense -- Begun in mid-1947, this is the publication of anti-Semite Conde McGinley's Christian Educational Association, and has continued since McGinley's death last year. A 1961 issue stated that Jews "are the 'chosen people' who founded communism and spread it throughout the world." The staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities characterized Common Sense, in a 1954 Preliminary Report, as carrying "some of the most vitriolic hate propaganda ever to come to the attention of the committee."

Courtney "complex" -- Kent and Phoebe Courtney, two leading John Birch Society boosters, operate out of New Orleans. They publish a paper called The Independent American and a series of tracts called Tax-Fax which include such titles as "Urban Renewal - A Socialist Scheme," "Medicare: A Socialist Fraud," "The United Nations - A Smokescreen for Communist Aggression," and "Rockefeller Now Controls U. S. Foreign Policy." The Courtneys charge that "the Socialist-Internationalist-Communists took over control of both the Democrat and Republican parties in 1933". At one time they suspected even Sen. Goldwater of being "tainted by Socialism," but they have regained their enthusiasm for him this year. Since 1961 the Courtneys have also operated the Conservative Society of America, which rates Senators and Congressmen from an even more doctrinaire right-wing position than ACA.

Daughters of the American Revolution, National Defense Committee -- One of the DAR's specialized committees, NDC distributes reprints of right-wing materials -- including "The Scoreboard" from the Birch Society's American Opinion; Rosalie Gordon's Nine Men Against America; Willis Stone on Urban Renewal; Fred Clark on the "Socialist" income tax; and articles from American Mercury, Christian Crusade, and Human Events. NDC also carries on a textbook review program and has found that "only one in five" meets "minimum D. A. R. standards." In recent years NDC has given special attention to showings of the controversial film, "Operation Abolition," in conjunction with a "Study Course on Communism" prepared by the NDC.

Foundation for Economic Education -- Organized in 1946, FEE is based on the premise that: "There are two great, basic, opposing philosophies in the world today, "collectivism and individualism, and it is dedicated to making the case for individual liberty -- largely in terms of what it calls "Libertarian economics" (one critic suggested that the term "propertarian" would be more accurate). Leonard Read is the founder and still President, and the

Board of Trustees reads like a "who's who" of corporate conservatism, including: William Coberly of California Cotton Oil, Jasper Crane of Dupont, Robert Gaylord of Ingersoll Milling, Pierre Goodrich, Roger Milliken of Deering Milliken, Ben Moreell of Jones and Laughlin Steel (and ACA), J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil, publisher Eugene Pulliam, and Robert W. Stoddard of Wyman-Gordon. At least four of these are connected with the John Birch Society. Since mid-1954 FEE has published The Freeman, a monthly magazine, as well as pamphlets and flyers, such as one series called "Cliche's of Socialism". Among the books pushed by and available from FEE are: Henry Hazlitt's Economics in One Lesson, Frank Chodorov's Rise and Fall of Society, Garet Garrett's The People's Pottage, F. A. Hayek's Road to Serfdom, Clarence Manion's Key to Peace, The Admiral's Log by Ben Moreell, Hans Sennholz's How Can Europe Survive?, and V. Orval Watts' Should We Strengthen the United Nations? All of these are on the "Approved List" of the John Birch Society.

Freedom School -- Founded and headed by Robert LeFevre, a long-time right-wing figure who is reportedly "against elections . . . because the results don't please everybody," and who (like Maj. Bundy) gained national fame with an attack on the Girl Scout Handbook. Freedom School uses as its slogan the words, "Private Property Is a Total Concept," and, like the Foundation for Economic Education, specializes in what is called "libertarian /i.e., extreme laissez-faire/ economics." Its interlocks with the John Birch Society and other far-right organizations are even larger than those of FEE, however. For example, about one-third of those listed as Freedom School's "National Board of Fellows" in the late 1950's have also been affiliated with the John Birch Society. Similarly, of its nine current Trustees, four are leaders of the Birch Society. In addition to its regular "school" sessions, the operation has special courses for business executives, both in-plant and at its Colorado Springs "campus." It publishes books and pamphlets and now has a regular tabloid, Pine Tree, edited by J. Dohn Lewis who was formerly with J. Bracken Lee's American Statesman.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge -- Set up in 1949 "to encourage and reward . . . efforts to preserve and extend the American Way of life," Freedoms Foundation has former Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and Herbert Hoover as "Honorary Chairman" and "Honorary President," respectively. Its actual founders, however, were public relations man Don Belding, businessman Edward F. Hutton, and management specialist Kenneth Wells. Wells is the executive officer and a frequent speaker at ultra-conservative affairs. (At one "Project Alert" he turned to the TV cameras and yelled: "I want to talk to you Marxists and traitors out there! . . . Get the message, Comrades. This country's 20-year Rip Van Winkle sleep is over.") Ostensibly, Freedoms Foundation is purely patriotic, but analysis of the pattern of its awards indicates a distinct right-ward bias. Thus, awards have gone to such organizations as: American Economic Foundation, Foundation for Economic Education, Free Enterprise Bureau of Joe Crail's Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association, National Education Program at Harding College (repeatedly), and the segregationist Southern States Industrial Council. Individuals receiving

awards have included Birch Society Council members Tom Anderson and Clarence Manion as well as such well-known right-wing figures as: Ralph de Toledano, Gen. Bonner Fellers, Rev. James Fifeild, Paul Harvey, Howard Kershner, Adm. Ben Moreell, Westbrook Pegler, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, columnist George Todt, and Gen. Albert Wedemeyer. Possibly most revealing of the bias was Freedoms Foundation's award to "Communism on the Map," the filmstrip which is based largely on the doctrines of the Blue Book of the John Birch Society.

Human Events -- Founded in 1944 under the patronage of Gen. Robert Wood and several other former members of the America First Committee, Human Events was headed by Frank Hanighen until his death earlier this year. Prior to 1962 it was a newsletter, but it has changed to a tabloid format and now is available on newstands as well as by subscription. Down through the years it has urged that the Post Office be sold to private enterprise; called Walter Reuther "a ruthless labor dictator and one of the most mischievous Socialist leaders in the country;" referred to "the ugly activity of the bus-riding integrationist agitators;" lumped together "the leftists, the one-worlders, the modern educationists;" and warned that "The Reds and Pinks are out in the open proclaiming their godless religion and waving a red flag or a mongrel one from the rooftops." Human Events has also sponsored a series of Political Action Conferences at which the keynote speech is always given by Adm. Ben Moreell of ACA, and for which the main speaker has often been Senator Goldwater.

Intercollegiate Society of Individualists -- ISI was organized in 1953 by Frank Chodorov (who has called the income tax "the root of all evil" and public schools "a socialized or politically monopolized institution"), with the aid of Human Events (which furnished temporary office space) and the Foundation for Economic Education (which provided most of the printed materials and did the mailing). It now has its own office in Philadelphia and an Executive Secretary, E. Victor Milione. ISI has its own publications, notably The Individualist and Campus Report, as well as distributing large quantities of printed material from FEE and other sources. It emphasizes the organization of conservative clubs on college campuses and operates a speakers' bureau to provide conservative lecturers. It thus serves as a sort of senior "intellectual" companion to the openly-political Young Americans for Freedom and the two organizations appear to have substantially overlapping membership. Five of ISI's seven "Advisers" are officers or endorsers of the John Birch Society.

John Birch Society -- The action group founded and led by Robert H. W. Welch who is probably best-known for having once called President Dwight Eisenhower a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy," and who evidently sticks by his characterization of both John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen Dulles as "a Communist agent" and a "supporter of communism," respectively (see published version of The Politician, pp. 223 and 227). In addition to its monthly Bulletin for members, JBS publishes American Opinion magazine for the general public.

Liberty Lobby -- First proposed in 1957 by Willis Carto, of San Francisco, who continues as Treasurer. Liberty Lobby is nominally headed by Curtis Dall, of Philadelphia. Its Executive Secretary is W. B. Hicks, former business manager of Human Events. Liberty Lobby's "Board of Policy" has included such officers and endorsers of the Birch Society as Tom Anderson, Billy James Hargis, A. G. Heinsohn, the late Merwin K. Hart, J. Bracken Lee, Gen. Sumter Lowry, Mrs. Seth Milliken, R. Carter Pittman, and Edwin L. Wiegand. The monthly Liberty Letter reports on legislation and follows a far-right line. Earlier this year, Liberty Lobby published a booklet titled The Ev and Charley Show, which attacked Minority Leaders Dirksen and Halleck from the right. For example, it referred to Dirksen's "slippery ability to be all things to all men" and said Halleck "cannot seem to muster enough backbone and statesmanship to place his country and party above petty partisanship." A little later, it published a slashing campaign tabloid called "LBJ: A Political Biography."

Liebman "complex" -- Marvin Liebman is an ex-Communist who is now a New York public relations man and active organizer of political and semi-political operations. He works very closely with William Buckley and other editors of the National Review magazine. Five Liebman operations were included in this study and they are discussed below. In addition, he was active in the formation of Young Americans for Freedom, a Goldwater booster group; and, in mid-1963, he organized the Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow, to oppose the test-ban agreement. Some Liebman enterprises include the following:

-- American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange -- Formerly called simply the American-Asian Educational Exchange and now headed by former Congressman Walter Judd (R-Minn.), but with Liebman as Executive Secretary. Primarily devoted to pleading the cause of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese regime, the tax-exempt organization has also distributed copies of a defense of South Africa by its Minister of Foreign Affairs in a speech before the U. N., and a pamphlet published by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists called "Resistance or Death? The Perils of Surrender Propaganda." Last year's investigation of foreign lobbying activities by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee revealed that Liebman works closely with the Hamilton Wright public relations organization, which represents both Nationalist China and the Union of South Africa.

-- American Jewish League Against Communism -- President of the League is Roy Cohn, former aide to Sen. Joe McCarthy; Treasurer is Mrs. Alfred Kohlberg, widow of the man who used to be known as "Mr. China Lobby"; and Executive Secretary is Liebman. A leader of the League on the West Coast was Rabbi Max Merritt, who spoke well of the John Birch Society (see JBS Bulletin, March, 1961). The League "seeks to mobilize and articulate the American Jewish community's vigorous opposition to Communism in all its manifestations both at home and abroad." Nearly half of the League's 1962 budget went in a contribution to National Review for an "article on communism,"

according to its Form 990A return for that year.

-- Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations. This is Liebman's most successful effort, and counts Democratic Senators Paul Douglas and Thomas Dodd among the members of its Steering Committee, along with Congressmen of other philosophies. While the Committee, like other Liebman operations, distributes reprints and pamphlets, a central interest appears to be securing the adherence of members of Congress to a statement opposing any compromise on the issue of Chinese representation in the U. N. On at least one occasion, Liebman and the Committee urged that the U. S. consider withdrawal from the U. N. if we should be defeated on this issue. It is also of interest that it was the Committee of One Million which commissioned and underwrote Edward Hunter's Black Book on Red China (Hunter is the self-styled expert on "brainwashing" who works closely with Billy James Hargis).

-- American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters -- Started in late 1961 to oppose United Nations policy in the Congo (and U. S. support of that policy), the Committee is headed by Max Yergan, who works with Liebman in other organizations and is on the state central committee of New York's Conservative Party. In addition to full-page ads in newspapers with long lists of "sponsors" (almost a Liebman "trade-mark"), the Katanga operation distributed a report of the Congo situation by sociologist Ernest van den Haag, which was challenged by spokesmen for the U. N. (see N. Y. Times 3/29/62).

-- Committee for the Monroe Doctrine -- Set up in late 1962 to protest the Kennedy Administration's Cuba policy in the period after the missile crisis, this one is headed by Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, frequent right-wing speaker and a major financial contributor to New York's Conservative Party. Listed with Rickenbacker were Admiral Ben Moreell, Charles Edison, and William F. Buckley, Jr. One advertisement of the Committee, urging action on the Cuban problem, was headlined ". . . if need be with bayonets fixed."

Life Line -- Under the patronage and supervision of oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, Life Line provides a radio commentary daily over more than 300 stations, a newsletter published three times a week, and a sort of book club, as well as urging listeners to form "Constructive Clubs" for direct action. Lumping together "all enemies of freedom -- Communists, Fellow Travelers, etc." as "The Mistaken," Life Line says that the United Nations is "under the domination of the Soviet and pro-Soviet 'neutrals';" that foreign aid is "subsidizing socialism in many countries;" that the October, 1962 missile confrontation over Cuba "looks like a victory but . . . it is a defeat;" and urges the curtailment or discontinuance of "farm plans, aid to education, huge highway spending, urban renewal . . . and other services."

Manion Forum -- The weekly radio program of a John Birch Society Council member, Clarence Manion, it is heard over about 250 stations. During the last year, guest speakers on the program have attacked: the test-ban treaty, the United Nations, the Federal farm pro-

implicated in Communist strategy;" says that "Christians should not accept" the Revised Standard Version of the Bible (which he calls "the NCC Bible"); and has charged evangelist Billy Graham with "endorsement and support of the Russian Baptists whose leaders are the tools and agents of the Kremlin." In the secular field, McIntire has attacked the United Nations and UNICEF, the test-ban treaty, the income tax, medical

care under Social Security, the civil rights movement, and the Supreme Court. He speaks well of the John Birch Society, though not a member, and has assisted the careers of such prominent right-wing figures as: Maj. Edgar Bundy, of the Church League; Rev. Billy James Hargis, of the Christian Crusade; and Dr. Fred Schwarz, of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

APPENDIX C

THE "TOP TEN" OPERATIONS IN RANK ORDER OF INCOME SIZE, 1958, 1960 AND 1962

<u>1958</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1962</u>
Found'n. for Economic Education	Freedoms Found'n., Valley Forge	20th Century Reformation Hour
Christian Freedom Found'n.	Christian Crusade (Hargis)	<u>Human Events</u>
<u>National Review</u>	<u>Human Events</u>	Life Line
<u>Human Events</u>	Found'n. for Economic Education	John Birch Society
Freedoms Found'n., Valley Forge	American Economic Foundation	Christian Crusade (Hargis)
American Economic Found'n.	Life Line	Christian Anti-Comm'sm Crusade
Manion Forum	Manion Forum	Freedoms Found'n., Valley Forge
Christian Crusade (Hargis)	20th Century Reformation Hour	<u>National Review</u>
America's Future	<u>National Review</u>	Manion Forum
Citizens' Councils of America	Christian Anti-Comm'sm Crusade	Found'n. for Economic Education

Source: Based on data presented in Table 1.

(Group Research, Inc.)

THE FINANCES OF THE RIGHT WING -- A Supplement

(This updates and adds information to Special Report #16, dated 9/1/64; it should be inserted in the Directory immediately following that report.)

The Data Lag and Related Problems

As was noted at the outset of this Special Report, reliable information on size and finances is a chronic problem to those who study political and economic movements. A further complication is the lengthy delay entailed in securing such information as is available, especially when a number of different operations are concerned, and putting it on some basis of comparability for purposes of analysis.

The largest single source of data in this report is the informational returns filed by tax-exempt organizations with the Internal Revenue Service, a portion of which are available for public inspection. Almost a half-a-year lapses before these reports are required, under the law; and a similar period is quite likely to pass before they become available to the lay public. (In part this latter delay is due to the time consumed in IRS processing and filing of the reports; but it is not infrequently true that the reports were not actually filed on time and there is delay while IRS secures the delinquent material.)

Putting the data on a comparable basis also contributes to the time-lag. Where an organization utilizes a fiscal year that ends in mid-calendar year, it is necessary to wait an extra six or so months to obtain the data necessary for adjusting to the previous calendar year. But such an adjustment is required if the trend over time is to be recorded for the full range of operations. The lag is not great for all organizations and so, as in Table 3 in the earlier report, figures on a number of the organizations are presented for the most recent complete year and a further effort to make an "informed guess" about current figures is indulged in.

Expanded Scope

The central purpose of this Supplement is to carry forward the financial data reported more than three years ago. However, it has also proved possible to increase substantially the number of operations included in the survey. Twenty-eight of the thirty operations which were included in the earlier report are also included in this Supplement. The two which have been dropped are Circuit Riders, Inc., which failed to file any informational returns with Internal Revenue after that for 1962 and which has had its tax-exempt status revoked by IRS; and the National Economic Council, which has stopped filing quarterly reports with Congress under the Lobbying Act, although there does not appear to be any change in the character of its operations.

Offsetting the deletion of two operations, twelve have been added to bring the total up to forty. These include a few which were formed in the aftermath of the Goldwater defeat but are largely organizations which have been on the scene all along. The most important addition is that of Young Americans for Freedom, which has begun filing financial reports with the State of New York. Appendix BB provides identifying notes on the twelve

operations not previously included and on operations which have been added to prior categories.

As in the initial list of thirty, the additions vary widely in viewpoint, type of activity, and extremity of views. The caveats made at page 3 above are equally applicable to this Supplement.

Growth, 1963 - 1965

Table 5 presents the data on all forty operations for the years 1963 thru 1965. The combined totals rose from \$15 million to \$21.3 million, a percentage increase of more than 40% for the period, with the largest portion of that growth taking place between 1963 and 1964. For purposes of comparison with the earlier data, particularly the projected 1963 figure given in Table 3, on page 8, it should be noted that for the twenty-eight of the original thirty operations which are included in Table 5, the combined total is \$14.1 million. This indicates that the earlier projection was reasonably close.

A comparison of specific figures for 1963 in Table 5 with those in Table 3, however, will show some substantial variations. Information which became available subsequent to preparation of the earlier report led to these revisions -- most striking in the cases of the John Birch Society and Carl McIntire's 20th Century Reformation Hour. In the cases of Life Line, the American Economic Foundation, and Freedoms Foundation, the figures in Table 3 were partially estimated and reports becoming subsequently available allowed revisions of these figures (downward in the first two instances, and upward in the third).

Comparing the growth rate over the period 1963-5 with that registered earlier, the combined total rose by more than 25% between 1963 and 1964, the third largest percentage rate of increase for the entire period studied, 1955 to date. Between 1964 and 1965 the rate was just over 11%. The pattern is consistent with that generally assumed for the period and reflected in another indicator, periodical circulation growth (see Sec 4 - Special Report #19); an impressive growth accompanying the 1964 presidential campaign followed by further growth, but at a slower rate.

Table 6 gives the 1966 figures for twenty-one of the operations. If these are representative of the group as a whole, the projection for all forty for 1966 is \$22.5 million, a 6 1/2% increase over the 1965 total.

Rankings

Between 1962 and 1965 there were some changes in relative position of the largest operations but the same eleven organizations were at the top in both years. The John Birch Society continued to grow more rapidly than the others during the three-year period and was at the

head of the list in both 1964 and 1965 (and almost certainly in 1966 as well). National Review moved up four slots and took over fourth position, almost back to its 1958 position. The most dramatic relative decline was exhibited by Life Line and by Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, each of which dropped four positions in the rankings. The only change in the names of the "top ten" was the American Economic Foundation's rise from 11th to 9th place, while the Foundation for Economic Education dropped from 10th to 11th.

Of the forty operations in Table 5, six exhibited a decline over all three years: America's Future, American Economic Foundation, Common Sense (with its 1966 budget estimated at less than one-fourth of its 1963 budget), the DAR's National Defense Committee, the Foundation for Economic Education, and the Foundation for Foreign Affairs. Only one of these, it might be noted, is in the ranks of the top ten, as of 1965.

Exhibiting unusual growth over the period studied, in addition to the John Birch Society, were Liberty Lobby (which moved from the smallest of the thirty operations included in Table 1 to the fifteenth spot in Table 5), Hargis's Christian Crusade (recovering after a decline in 1962 and 1963), the American Security Council (which has added a daily radio program, among other things), and Young Americans for Freedom (which more than doubled its budget between 1963 and 1965).

Supporters

Pages 10 thru 16 of the prior report provided data on a variety of major financial supporters of the operations covered in this study. These continue to be important sources of funds. In addition, the expanded scope of the present supplement, along with the continuing study of such public sources as the Form 990A returns filed by tax-exempt organizations, make it possible to add the following to the previous list. (See also Group Research Report 4/29/67 and 10/13/67 on "Foundation Financing on the Right.") It should be stressed that the tax-exempt foundations mentioned below generally make the preponderance of their grants to philanthropies with little or no political or economic connotations. Their inclusion in this list is likely to be based on their importance as a source of support to the various conservative and right-wing operations covered by the study, not necessarily on the importance of that support in the total pattern of the foundation's giving.

Fred C. Andersen -- President of a window manufacturing firm in Bayport, Minn., Andersen and his wife gave \$5,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action in 1966. The Bayport Foundation, which he heads, during the four fiscal years 1962-5, gave \$10,000 to Human Events, \$2,000 to Young Americans for Freedom, \$1,500 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, \$1,000 to America's Future, \$800 to Marvin Liebman's Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the U. N., and smaller amounts to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and the Foundation for Economic Education.

Badger Meter Manufacturing Co. -- This Milwaukee firm's tax-exempt Charles W. Wright Foundation,

during the three years 1963-5, gave \$3,500 to Ram-part College, \$1,400 to the American Economic Foundation, and small grants to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and to Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

F. A. Bean Foundation -- This tax-exempt Minneapolis organization is named for the late head of International Milling Co., and headed by his two sons. During the four years 1962-5 it gave \$2,500 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, \$2,000 to Human Events (the Bean Family had been listed as "Charter Subscribers" by that periodical), \$1,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, \$1,000 to Harding College, and a \$500 grant to America's Future.

Louis D. Beaumont Foundation -- Headed by Cleveland attorney Edgar A. Hahn, this tax-exempt organization, during the three years 1963-5, gave \$30,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and \$15,000 to Harding College. (It should be noted that the Beaumont Foundation also makes grants to liberal and civil rights groups.)

Evelyn Smith Beck -- During the two years 1964-5, she gave \$1,482 to Americans for Constitutional Action and \$1,062 to Liberty Lobby. E. H. Smith, at the same address and phone in Alamo, California, gave \$110 to American Conservative Union in 1966. Earlier during the three years 1961-3, Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade reported a total of \$2,670 from "E. Beck, Alamo, Calif."

Beeghly Family -- Leon A. Beeghly, head of Standard Slag Co., of Youngstown, Ohio, was a "charter subscriber" to Human Events and more recently listed as a member of the periodical's fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Fund. The tax-exempt Leon A. Beeghly Fund, operated by three sons, gave \$68,000 to Circuit Riders, Inc. during the three years 1963-5, and \$4,500 to Educational Reviewer in the same period. (It also gave \$3,000 to the Committee for Constitutional Government.) Another son, Charles M. Beeghly, chief executive of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Co., gave a total of \$2,250 to Americans for Constitutional Action during the period 1963 to mid-1967.

Bodman Foundation -- During the three years 1962-5, this tax-exempt New York organization gave \$15,000 to the Foundation for Economic Education and \$10,000 each to America's Future and Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

William H. Brady, Jr. -- Head of a Milwaukee firm which manufactures "pressure sensitive tape products, identification and labeling systems," etc., Brady is a Director of the American Conservative Union and contributed \$600 to it in 1965. He has also contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action (\$350 in 1966), is a member of Human Events' fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Foundation, and has served on the Advisory Board for Wisconsin YAF (Young Americans for Freedom). His firm, the W. H. Brady Co., advertises regularly in National Review. The tax-exempt W. H. Brady Foundation, during the three fiscal years 1963-5, gave \$5,000 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, \$1,500 to the Foundation for Economic Education, and smaller amounts to Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Educational Reviewer, and

TABLE 5
ANNUAL INCOME OF FORTY SELECTED OPERATIONS.
1963-1965

	(thousands of dollars)		
	1963	1964	1965
→ JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY	1,600.0	3,200.0	4,089.0
20TH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR (McIntire) ^a	2,300.0	3,000.0	3,040.0
HUMAN EVENTS ^a	927.3	1,141.0	1,236.5
NATIONAL REVIEW ^a	763.7	988.0	1,137.0
CHRISTIAN CRUSADE (Hargis)	677.2	834.2	1,106.9
FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AT VALLEY FORGE ^b	795.6	996.5	1,021.9
LIFE LINE ^{a, b}	1,026.6	1,045.3	951.6
MANION FORUM ^a	642.5	787.5	782.5
AMERICAN ECONOMIC FOUNDATION ^{b, c}	776.8	740.9	666.9
CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE (Schwarz)	573.8	616.5	604.0
→ FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION ^b	651.6	623.2	584.8
AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL ^a	268.0	350.0	530.0
DAN SMOOT REPORT ^a	453.8	499.2	501.4
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM ^b	191.3	364.6	469.6
LIBERTY LOBBY	60.5	346.5	434.2
CHRISTIAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION (Kershner)	329.2	233.5	412.5
FREE SOCIETY ASSOCIATION ^a	--	--	350.0
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE (G.L.K. Smith)	288.7	315.5	325.0
"COURTNEY COMPLEX" ^{a, d}	281.0	300.0	310.0
BIBLE INSTITUTE OF THE AIR (Dr. Burpo)	212.0	233.8	257.4
INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE ^{a, b, e}	202.4	199.9	245.6
AMERICA'S FUTURE	264.0	252.6	244.8
FREEDOM SCHOOL/RAMPART COLLEGE	160.2	189.4	241.4
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	235.1	208.1	237.1
AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION	--	10.0	209.0
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM (Harding College) ^b	139.8	143.3	183.7
SOUTHERN STATES INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL	127.9	136.4	148.9
"LIEBMAN COMPLEX" ^{a, b, f}	193.3	113.7	141.2
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	84.9	187.4	123.0
CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA ^a	100.6	135.5	122.0
FOUNDATION FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS	146.9	133.5	112.8
EDUCATIONAL REVIEWER ^b	110.0	131.0	112.2
COMMON SENSE ^a	161.0	149.0	85.5
D.A.R. NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE ^b	60.1	52.0	42.8
NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY	44.2	40.0	42.6
VERITAS FOUNDATION ^b	41.2	39.8	41.1
INSTITUTE FOR HUMANE STUDIES ^{a, b}	1.3	14.9	38.7
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA ^{a, g}	72.1	72.7	35.0
UNITED REPUBLICANS OF AMERICA ^a	--	--	28.0
CARDINAL MINDSZENTY FOUNDATION	20.3	26.5	25.4
TOTAL -- ALL OPERATIONS	14,984.6	18,851.6	21,305.5

Notes:

^aEstimated, in whole or in part.^bAdjusted to calendar year basis from fiscal year basis.^cIncluding the National Schools Committee for Economic Education for 1964 and 1965.^dThe Independent American, Conservative Society of America, and related activities of Kent and Phoebe Courtney.^eFormerly the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.

(continued)

^f Includes: American African Affairs Association (1965 on), American-Asian Educational Exchange, American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters (1963 only), American Jewish League Against Communism, Committee for the Monroe Doctrine, Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and the National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow (1963 only).

^g Combined because they have operated jointly in recent years, under the direction of Gen. Bonner Fellers.

Components do not always add to total because of rounding.

Sources: See Appendix AA for sources of data and methods of estimation utilized, if not already indicated in Appendix A.

TABLE 6
1966 INCOME OF TWENTY-ONE OPERATIONS

(thousands of dollars)

→ JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY ^a	5,000.0
20TH CENTURY REFORMATION HOUR ^a	3,100.0
NATIONAL REVIEW ^a	1,231.5
HUMAN EVENTS ^a	1,084.8
LIFE LINE ^a	1,001.6
MANION FORUM ^a	755.0
DAN SMOOT REPORT ^a	413.6
LIBERTY LOBBY	406.3
CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE	339.8
BIBLE INSTITUTE OF THE AIR	308.5
"LIEBMAN COMPLEX" ^{a, b, f}	266.9
CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA	203.7
NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM ^a	196.6
AMERICANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION	181.2
SOUTHERN STATES INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL	170.1
AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION	104.7
UNITED REPUBLICANS OF AMERICA	56.0
D.A.R. NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE ^b	51.2
COMMON SENSE ^a	36.5
NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY	17.7
CITIZENS FOREIGN AID COMMITTEE/FOR AMERICA ^{a, g}	16.8
Total - 21 Operations -	14,942.6
Projected Total -- 40 Operations -	22,496.9

Notes: See Table 5

Components do not add to total because of rounding.

the Freedom School.

Mr. and Mrs. Fritz B. Burns -- Mr. Burns is a former partner of Henry Kaiser and now heads his own real estate development firm. Mrs. Burns is an active member of the John Birch Society and served on the executive committee for both the 1963 and 1965 testimonial dinners for JBS founder Robert Welch. Their tax-exempt Burns Foundation, during the two fiscal years 1963-4, gave \$6,449 to Fred Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and \$1,000 to the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation.

Conrad Chapman -- A Bostonian, Chapman, since 1962, has given \$5,000 to American Conservative Union, \$3,900 to Americans for Constitutional Action, \$2,200 to Liberty Lobby, and \$1,400 to United Republicans of America. He has also been listed as a major contributor (\$500 or more) to the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee (of which he is an Endorser) in each year, 1963-5, and has given smaller grants to For America and the short-lived Political Action Committee of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF-PAC), later absorbed by American Conservative Union.

James W. Clise -- The late J. W. Clise, a Seattle business executive, was a trustee of the Foundation for Economic Education and was listed as a "charter subscriber" by Human Events. He was also a contributor to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The tax-exempt James Clise Fund (now headed by his widow), in the years 1962-5, gave \$11,500 to the Foundation for Economic Education, with smaller grants going to the American Economic Foundation, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and Harding College.

James S. Copley -- Head of Copley Newspapers, Inc. (a chain of nearly twenty papers in California and Illinois), Copley is a large contributor to the Republican Party (\$3,000 in 1966 to three national GOP organizations). He has also contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action and is Western Regional Director of Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge. Over the four years 1962-5, the tax-exempt Copley Charities and Union-Tribune Charities, both of which he heads, gave a total of \$87,875 to Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge. Small grants went also to America's Future, the Manion Forum, American Economic Foundation, and Young Americans for Freedom.

Cotta Foundation -- The tax-exempt fund of a Rockford, Ill., transmission manufacturing firm, this organization, over the four years 1962-5, gave \$4,500 each to American Economic Foundation and the Foundation for Economic Education, \$2,500 to America's Future, \$1,500 to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, and \$750 to Robert LeFevre's Freedom School.

Endeavor Foundation -- During the two fiscal years 1963-4, this tax-exempt New York organization gave \$3,000 to the American Economic Foundation, and \$1,000 each to the Church League of America, Educational Reviewer, Harding College, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. Small grants went to the American Security Council, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge.

Falk Corporation -- A Milwaukee manufacturer of gear

drives and couplings, Falk has been a regular advertiser (usually back cover or inside back cover) in the Birch Society's weekly Review of the News and in YAF's New Guard. The firm is also a long-time sponsor of conservative news broadcaster Robert Siegrist and was reported as a major contributor (\$500 or more) by the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee each year, 1962-4. A vice-president of the firm, John T. Brown, is a member of the Birch Society's National Council and both he and the firm's president, Harold Falk, are members of the 1976 Committee, the political action group headed by Birch leader, William Grede. Harold Falk also contributed \$3,000 to the 1976 Committee during 1966-7, and at least \$1,065 to Freedom School in fiscal 1964.

In addition, two tax-exempt organizations, the Harold and Suzanne Falk Foundation and the Herman W. Falk Memorial Foundation, during the three years 1963-5, made grants totalling \$7,500 to Harding College, \$5,250 to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade of Fred Schwarz, \$3,500 to Educational Reviewer, \$2,450 to the Foundation for Economic Education, \$1,450 to Freedom School, and smaller grants to the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, American Economic Foundation, America's Future, Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge, American-Asian Educational Exchange, and Institute for Humane Studies.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin D. Gilbert -- Mrs. Gilbert has given \$12,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action over the four years 1964-7, and contributed \$1,000 to Liberty Lobby in 1966. Her husband, who was listed as a "Rally Sponsor" by Young Americans for Freedom in 1962, contributed to the 1965 campaign of William F. Buckley, Jr. for mayor of New York. Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert jointly contributed \$1,000 to Freedom School in late 1963.

Gulf Oil Co. Foundation -- Over the four fiscal years 1963-66, this tax-exempt organization made grants totalling \$20,000 to Harding College, \$10,000 each to American Economic Foundation and the Foundation for Economic Education, \$5,000 to America's Future, and \$1,000 to Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge.

Hoiles Family -- The Hoiles family chain, Freedom Newspapers, Inc., owns or controls more than a dozen newspapers in California, Ohio and Texas. The President of the chain, Raymond C. Hoiles, is on the executive committee of the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A. He is also one of the largest contributors to Robert LeFevre's Freedom School, giving \$25,480 in fiscal year 1964 alone (names of contributors are not available for other years). His son, Harry H. Hoiles, is a vice-president of Rampart College (successor to Freedom School), and in fiscal 1964 he contributed \$5,583 plus another \$4,168 for copies of LeFevre's book. The firm has also contributed to Foundation for Economic Education (at least \$550 in 1965).

Henry Hottinger -- A partner in the investment firm of Wertheim and Co., Hottinger is a Trustee of America's Future, a member of the National Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom, and an Endorser of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee. He was listed by the latter as a \$500 contributor in 1964. In addition, the tax-exempt Cremona Fund, which he heads, during the three fiscal years 1963-5, made grants totalling \$9,000 to Educational Reviewer, \$6,625 to America's Future, \$6,000 to Harding College, and \$1,000 each to the Veritas Foundation and the American Council of Christian Laymen (now a part of

Carl McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches). Smaller grants went to the National Economic Council, Freedom School, the American Economic Foundation, the Foundation for Economic Education, and the Manion Forum.

Household Finance Corp. -- Although headquartered in Chicago, this firm has been a leading supporter of the Southern States Industrial Council, contributing \$1,000 each year, at least since 1962. In addition, its tax-exempt Household Finance Foundation, during the three years 1963-5, made grants totalling \$32,000 to the American Economic Foundation, \$2,000 to the Foundation for Economic Education, \$1,500 to America's Future, and \$1,400 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge. Smaller grants went to Human Events and the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange.

Hufty Family -- Page Hufty, a financier of Washington, D. C., and Palm Beach, Fla., is on Human Events' fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Fund. The tax-exempt Hufty Foundation, of which he and his wife are trustees, during the four years 1962-5, gave \$10,900 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, \$2,100 to America's Future, and \$1,000 to the American Economic Foundation. Son John A. Hufty has been reported as a contributor to Americans for Constitutional Action (at least \$700 during the period 1964-6).

Jaquelin Hume -- Head of a food preserving firm (Basic Vegetable Products), Hume was a member of the California Goldwater delegation to the 1964 Republican convention. His tax-exempt Jaquelin Hume Foundation, during the three fiscal years 1964-6, gave \$10,000 to the Foundation for Economic Education and \$2,000 to the Institute for Humane Studies.

C. C. Moseley -- Head of the Grand Central Industrial Centre in Glendale, Calif., Moseley is on the Executive Committee of the Liberty Amendment Committee (pushing for income tax repeal), and his firm advertises regularly in the Committee's magazine, Freedom. He is also on the Advisory Board of H. L. Hunt's Life Lines and an endorser of the Manion Forum. He is listed by Human Events as a "charter subscriber" and is on the publication's fund-raising Hanighen-Wick Memorial Fund. He regularly mails reprints of conservative and right-wing materials to the members of Congress. He has contributed to Americans for Constitutional Action (at least \$500 during the period 1964-7) and the American Conservative Union (\$100 in 1966).

His tax-exempt Moseley Foundation, during the four years 1962-5, gave \$2,000 to the American Council of Christian Laymen, \$1,100 to Harding College, and \$1,000 to American Economic Foundation. Smaller grants went to America's Future, Hargis's Christian Crusade, the Americanism Educational League, Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and McIntire's Christian Beacon. (It is the range of Moseley's support, rather than its size, which is impressive.)

Charles Stewart Mott -- A long-time executive, major stockholder, and still a director of General Motors, Mott was one of the reported contributors in the late 1950's to the fund used to circulate an attack on Walter Reuther written by right-wing pamphleteer Joseph Kamp. (See N. Y. Times 10/1/58) His tax-exempt Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, during 1964-5, gave

\$10,000 to Harding College, \$6,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, \$2,500 to the American Economic Foundation, \$2,000 each to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and the Foundation for Economic Education, and \$500 to the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange of Marvin Liebman.

Dr. Thomas Parker -- A Greenville, S. C., physician, Dr. Parker is on the National Council of the John Birch Society, is a Trustee of Americans for Constitutional Action, a state chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee, and an Endorser of the Manion Forum. He is a past president of the right-wing Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, was listed as a sponsor of the 1962 rally held by Young Americans for Freedom, and is on the 1976 Committee (headed by Birch leader William Grede). During the four years 1964-7, Parker and his family contributed a total of \$11,637 to Americans for Constitutional Action. He has also given to the American Conservative Union (\$100 in 1965) and the 1976 Committee (\$265 in 1967).

William Penn Patrick -- Patrick's California cosmetics firm, Holiday Magic, has evidently replaced the late D. B. Lewis's pet food firm as the major sponsor of Dan Smoot's television broadcasts in California. Patrick, who ran poorly as a gubernatorial candidate in the 1966 Republican primary, was also in the news as a financial backer of the attempt to "recall" Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho). According to Robert DePugh, of the extremist Minutemen and the Patriotic Party, Patrick promised financial support also to the latter group, which nominated him for Vice-President of the U.S.

Pitcairn Family -- A Pennsylvania family whose wealth originally stemmed from the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., the Pitcairns are major financial supporters of American Conservative Union and Americans for Constitutional Action. Thus, the late Raymond Pitcairn contributed \$2,000 to ACU in 1965; two sons (Garthowen and Nathan) and two daughters (Karen P. Cole and Vera P. Junge) each gave another \$1,000 in the same year; and son Lachlan gave \$500 in 1965, while daughter Vera gave \$300 more in 1967 (total \$6,800). A niece of Raymond Pitcairn, Charis (Mrs. Louis S.) Cole, is a Trustee of ACA, and she and her husband contributed \$4,400 to that organization during 1963-7, plus \$200 to ACU. Mrs. Cole's brother, Joel Pitcairn gave \$2,800 to ACA during the years 1962-4. Cousin Vera P. Junge also gave \$300 to ACA in 1967. Finally, the family's Glencairn Foundation (headed before his death in 1966 by Raymond Pitcairn), makes regular small grants (\$200 a year) to the Foundation for Economic Education.

Henry Salvatori -- Founder and head of Western Geophysical Co., Salvatori has long been prominent in California anti-Communist and right-wing Republican circles. He donated \$325,000 to the University of Southern California to establish a Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda, and he was the leading supporter of the Anti-Communist Voters League. In the Republican party he has been a major supporter of Goldwater, Reagan, and Max Rafferty. He contributed \$5,500 to American Conservative Union during the period 1964-6, and \$1,000 to Americans for Constitutional Action during 1965-6. Salvatori has also been known as a Fred Schwarz backer and his tax-exempt Henry and Grace Salvatori Foundation gave \$2,000 to Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in 1963. Also receiving \$2,000 each during the three year period

1962-4 were Liebman's American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange and Educational Reviewer. A small grant went to America's Future one year.

Sunline Foundation -- Sunline, Inc., of St. Louis, Mo., is a candy manufacturing firm. Its tax-exempt foundation, during its first year of grant-disbursement, fiscal 1965-6, gave \$9,000 to Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, \$5,285 to Foundation for Economic Education, and \$1,500 to Harding College's National Education Program.

Wilkie Brothers Foundation -- Headed by Leighton Wilkie, founder and head of Continental Machines, Inc., this tax-exempt organization, during the three years 1962-4, gave \$15,000 to Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge and \$9,155 to the American Economic Foundation.

Conclusions

Information which has become available since the preparation of the initial report does not require any changes in the conclusions expressed at pages 16 and 17. The growth rate of the right side of the political and economic spectrum in the U. S. has continued to be impressive, at least through 1966. While figures for the current year are not available, there is at least one indication that right-wing growth may have reached a peak last year. A comparison of average paid circulation figures for some fourteen conservative and right-wing periodicals with second-class postal status, reflects a slight drop between 1965-6 and 1966-7, but of less than 3%. (Note also that circulation figures have grown more slowly than financial figures in earlier years. See Special Report #19, "Periodicals on the Right," page 24.)

Furthermore, even if the right wing in general does prove to have "peaked" in 1966, the magnitude achieved remains as impressive as the growth rate. If, as was hypothesized in the earlier report (pages 16-17), the operations included in this study represent only half of the total picture -- and emphasizing again that right-wing is broadly defined in this study -- then the composite income level in 1966 would be in the \$40-50 million range. Obviously a movement of that size can suffer substantial attrition and still retain a great deal of impact.

Finally, with another presidential election year in the offing, it is certainly too early to speculate on whether the data indicate a "peak" to be followed by a downward trend, or a "levelling off" that may be followed by another upward surge.

(Group Research, Inc.)

Appendix AA Sources and Methodology

The following notes indicate the sources and/or methodology utilized where the operations were not included in the earlier report or where they differed from those indicated at pages 18-19.

American Conservative Union -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

American Economic Foundation -- Data on the National Schools Committee for Economic Education, which is, in effect, a "spin-off" from AEF, from Form 990A informational returns filed with Internal Revenue Service.

American Security Council -- Estimated. Membership figures for each year interpolated from size reported in October, 1962 (3,300 members) and mid-1964 and mid-1966 (3,500 both times); average annual membership fee assumed to be \$80 (based on estimated 1962 budget -- see page 18); additional \$20,000 a month added from October, 1964 on, to allow for radio program.

Bible Institute of the Air -- Reports filed with the State of Arizona.

Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation -- Form 990A returns.

Church League of America -- Annual Reports; includes mortgage loan in 1963 and payments on it in 1965 and 1966.

"Courtney Complex" -- Estimated. Figures for 1964 and 1965 based on reported increase in paid subscribers to The Independent American (23,000 claimed by mid-1965), somewhat offset by a decline in the size of their radio "network."

Educational Reviewer -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending August 31.

Foundation for Foreign Affairs -- Form 990A returns.

Free Society Association -- Estimated. Organization began in mid-June, 1965 and a news item of 2/11/66 reported that about \$400,000 had been raised. Adjusted to calendar 1965.

Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge -- Also included in 1964 and 1965 are figures from 990A returns filed by Freedoms Foundation Trust.

Human Events -- Estimated. Average paid circulation figures adjusted to calendar basis and used for continued extrapolation from earlier figures (see pages 18-19). Estimated advertising income (based on sample space counts for each year and statement by the publication in February, 1964, that ad income was \$35,000 a year at that time) added to subscription income estimates.

Institute for Humane Studies -- Form 990A returns available for 1963, first half of 1964, and calendar 1965; missing period interpolated.

Intercollegiate Studies Institute -- Form 990A returns; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending March 31 thru FY '65, then shifted to June 30 in FY '66.

1965 partially estimated (April thru June).

John Birch Society -- Figures for 1963 and 1964 as stated in JBS Bulletin, January, 1965; figure for 1965 given in *ibid.*, May, 1966; 1966 figure is estimated by Anti-Defamation League (see Epstein and Forster, The Radical Right, p. 204).

Liberty Lobby -- Reports to Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. 1963 figure is partially estimated since reports do not indicate what portion of total budget is represented; for subsequent years they do indicate.

"Liebman Complex" -- New organizations included are American African Affairs Association (1965 on) and National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow (1963 only). For both, reports filed with New York State Department of Social Welfare are utilized.

Life Line -- Form 990A returns available only through FY ending September 30, 1964 (tax-exempt status revoked as of March 25, 1965). Budget other than air-time extrapolated through 1966 on basis of paid circulation figures for newsletter. On estimates for cost of air-time, see page 19.

National States Rights Party -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

Southern States Industrial Council -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

20th Century Reformation Hour -- Estimated. 1964 figure is that given by McIntire in a March, 1965, speech in Minneapolis (quoted by Erling Jorstad, Concern, November 1, 1965); adjusted for other years on basis of paid circulation reported by Christian Beacon and estimated average radio "network" size.

United Republicans of America -- Reports filed with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives for 1966. 1965 figure estimated on basis of news report on membership size in August, 1965.

Veritas Foundation -- Form 990A returns for FY '63-4; reports to New York State Department of Social Welfare for FY '65-6; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending July 31.

Young Americans for Freedom -- Reports filed with New York State Department of Social Welfare; adjusted to calendar-year basis from fiscal year ending July 31. 1965 also includes figure from report filed by YAF-PAC (Political Action Committee) with Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives.

Appendix BB Brief Descriptions

The following are brief identifying notes on the operations added by the present Supplement.

American Conservative Union -- Organized in late 1964, ACU grew directly out of the Goldwater presidential campaign, with its central leadership representing those Goldwater supporters who might be characterized as having ties with National Review and New York State's Conservative Party. ACU's first chairman was former Congressman Donald Bruce, but he was subse-

quently replaced by Congressman John Ashbrook. Frankly political, ACU devotes a good deal of time to attacks on liberals within the Republican Party (publishing critical studies of the Ripon Society and of those GOP House members who provided the "Democratic Margin of Victory" on various issues). It absorbed the Political Action Committee set up by Young Americans for Freedom and this year began organizing state affiliates with an obvious eye on political action within the Republican Party. As New York's Conservative Party sees itself as a counterbalance to that state's Liberal Party, ACU sees itself as a GOP equivalent of Americans for Democratic Action, attempting to keep the party as conservative as possible.

Bible Institute of the Air -- Dr. C. W. Burpo began his "radio ministry" in 1953 in Oklahoma City, incorporating it in 1955 as the Bible Institute of the Air. In mid-1963 he moved from Oklahoma to Mesa, Arizona. His major activity is his daily radio program, carried by some 29 stations in 15 states according to a listing in July, 1967. He also publishes a newsletter, Bible Institute News. Burpo made the national news in 1963 as one of those disseminating the charge that military maneuvers in Georgia ("Operation Water Moccasin") were some sort of dress rehearsal for a United Nations "take-over" of the country. Although he has said that "John Birch people are among the finest patriots I have met," Burpo and JBS head Robert Welch came into conflict over Burpo's alliance with Korean emigre Kilsoo Haan (Welch distrusts Haan because the latter was critical of the late Syngman Rhee).

Although the Institute is tax-exempt as a "religious" organization (and not required to file annual Form 990A returns), Burpo mixes a good deal of politics with his message. Thus, his seven-point program -- "from the secular standpoint" -- to "save America" includes repeal of the income tax, withdrawal from the U. N., elimination of foreign aid, and to "eradicate socialism in America."

Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation -- Begun in mid-1958, the Mindszenty Foundation is headed by Eleanor Schlafly, sister-in-law of Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly (who acts as the Foundation's Research Director). Aimed specifically at Roman Catholics, CMF has affiliates in eight cities and forty-two "area representatives" in other parts of the country. In addition to sponsoring speakers and a radio-tape series ("Dangers of Apathy"), it publishes a monthly newsletter and a bi-monthly column ("The Red Line"). It also issues textbook reviews from time to time. Dean Clarence Manion, of the Birch Society's National Council, is a frequent speaker at CMF's annual Leadership Conference, and CMF exhibits at the annual New England Rally for God, Family and Country. Its newsletter warns of "Our Dwindling Defenses," opposes trade with the Soviet bloc, charges that we are about to "give away" the Panama Canal, and in general warns that the U. S. must not be "conspiracy blind" (i. e., fail to recognize and adequately oppose the international Communist conspiracy).

Educational Reviewer, Inc. -- Although begun in 1949, under the sponsorship of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, in Chicago, Educational Reviewer, since 1960, has been headed by Dr. Russell Kirk and had no apparent ties to CASBO. Instead it is linked closely with National Review, whose subscribers receive its quarterly publication free (its regular subscription rate is \$2 a year). This quarterly, which is the organization's principal activity, is The University Bookman, a small

review journal edited by Kirk. Its circulation is listed by the 1967 edition of the Standard Periodical Directory as 100,000. In addition, Educational Reviewer does occasional surveys, two recent ones being on "books and materials in the field of Social Sciences used in Colleges and Universities throughout the United States" and on "the problems in connection with the founding, operating, accomplishments and financing of private educational institutions."

Foundation for Foreign Affairs -- Incorporated in 1945, the tax-exempt Foundation describes its purpose as "To carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of the international relations of the United States." It publishes a quarterly, Modern Age, which formerly described itself as "A Conservative Review." It is edited by the Foundation's president, Eugene Davidson, and its paid circulation averaged 5,654 last year. In addition, the Foundation sponsors or co-sponsors conferences (the 1966 one was held in Wiesbaden, Germany) and makes research grants to conservative scholars (totalling about \$37,000 in 1965). Henry Regnery Co. serves as the publishing house for the "Foundation for Foreign Affairs Series" of books.

Free Society Association -- Like the American Conservative Union, FSA grew directly out of the 1964 Goldwater campaign, and it enjoyed the former Senator's personal identification -- he is Honorary Chairman and his campaign manager, Denison Kitchel, is President. FSA describes its "only function" as the "promotion of political education." This it does through its newsletter, study guides, and "background" papers. During 1966 it held a series of regional rallies and "think-ins." In his keynote speech to these meetings, Goldwater warned against the "dizzy, headlong plunge" the country is making "toward the socialization of America," though FSA's printed materials generally are a good deal more restrained in their language. In mid-1966, the Association was claiming 42,500 dues-paying members. It has recently gained tax-exempt status.

Institute for Humane Studies -- The Institute, which describes itself as "an informal graduate school," was organized in late 1961, with initial financing by the tax-exempt William Volker Fund. "The idea behind the Institute," a subsequent memo noted, "was to reverse the retreat from human liberty which has been going on for many decades in the United States and the Western World." The Volker Fund soon withdrew from the project (evidently over some internal disagreement) but the Institute secured its own tax-exempt status. Its leading figure is Floyd A. Harper, who had for many years been on the staff of the Foundation for Economic Education and is credited with having conceived the idea of the Institute. In a 1965 letter to Western Destiny magazine, Harper wrote: "If any person prefers some societal arrangement now operating in some other land, let him go there peacefully rather than to remain here and generate civil war." President of the Institute is Dr. James Doenges, of Anderson, Indiana, a state co-chairman of the Liberty Amendment Committee, and director both of Association of American Physicians and Surgeons and of We, The People!. He is also a Trustee of Rampart College (see below). Major activities of the Institute include support for libertarian scholars and sponsorship of conferences.

"Liebman Complex" -- Several changes have occurred

in the complex of operations under the aegis of public relations man Marvin Liebman (see page 23 above). The American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters dissolved in early 1963 after the secession of Katanga had ended. (More recently Liebman has organized an ad hoc Tshombe Emergency Committee, but it is too new to be covered by the present supplement.) Similarly, the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine went out of existence in early 1965, being absorbed by the non-Liebman Committee on Pan American Policy.

Included in the figures in Table 5 is the National Committee Against the Treaty of Moscow, which was an ad hoc operation working only during the summer of 1963 in an unsuccessful effort to secure Senate rejection of that year's test-ban treaty. Also included in both Table 5 and Table 6 is the new continuing Liebman operation:

-- American African Affairs Association -- Organized in early 1965, the Association described its purpose as "to further the cause of knowledge concerning Africa among the people of the United States." It sent fact-finding missions to Africa in 1966 and again in 1967. Both missions wrote reports generally favorable to Southern Rhodesia and unfavorable to U. S. and U. N. policies toward that country and other white African regimes. The Association also distributes other printed materials and publishes a monthly newsletter. Its co-chairmen are William Rusher, publisher of the National Review, and Max Yergan, Negro educator and "regular" on Liebman letterheads.

National Schools Committee for Economic Education -- In early 1964, those operations of the American Economic Foundation (see page 20) which aimed specifically at disseminating materials on "free enterprise economics" in the schools were set up separately as the National Schools Committee. The new organization's Chairman and Vice-Chairman, Ben Wood and Roscoe West, had both previously served in the AEF division of the same name. More significantly, the National Schools Committee's President and Treasurer, Morgan S. A. Reichner, continues as Vice-President of AEF as well. Major activity of the Committee is its workshops for teachers.

National States Rights Party -- Founded and headed by chiropractor Edward Fields, NSRP appears to have grown out of Fields's 1957 organization, the United White Party. NSRP is both racist and anti-Semitic and generally similar in style to the American Nazi Party of the late George Lincoln Rockwell. (Rockwell's successor, Matt Koehl, was once NSRP's "National Organizer.") The Party's monthly newspaper, The Thunderbolt, features headlines such as "LBJ Appoints Only Jews and Negroes", "Negro is Related to Apes -- Not White People", and "Rusk Daughter Guilty of Bastardity." At least one of NSRP's major contributors, W. Sutherland, Fredericksburg, Texas, is also a major contributor to Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade.

Rampart College -- In 1963 Robert LeFevre's Freedom School (see page 22) began Rampart College, which it developed into a "degree-granting" institution the following year. Since then, the tax-exempt entity has been re-named Rampart College, though Freedom School continues as the "extension program" of the school. LeFevre continues to be the leading figure and the Board of Trustees continues to include a number of people also associ-

ated with the Birch Society, including William Grede, Chairman of the JBS Executive Committee. Although Rampart offers both "Master's" and "Doctor's" degrees, its 1967 Bulletin states that it "has not yet applied for accreditation from any accrediting association." In addition to its teaching activities, it publishes a monthly newsletter and has begun a quarterly journal.

Southern States Industrial Council -- Set up in the early 1930's in reaction to the New Deal, SSIC now describes its "fundamental purpose" as "to restore and preserve for future generations the traditional American free enterprise system." It opposes "all federal subsidies except those necessary for national defense," is against the union shop, "federal intervention in the fields of medical care, housing, prices and wages," and deficit financing, and it calls for "total victory over Communism." In addition to its semi-monthly newsletter and numerous pamphlets, it distributes to some 1,000 papers a weekly column by its executive secretary, Thurman Sensing. Column titles this year have included "U Thant's Bias", "Panama -- Another Cuba," and "Career Well-farists."

United Republicans of America -- Organized in early 1965, URA began operating out of Liberty Lobby's headquarters and using the latter's bulk mail permit. Its first head, D. Bruce Evans, said that it was inspired by the "party-within-a-party" approach urged by Liberty Lobby. Its main purpose is thus to support the nomination and election of right-wing Republicans. URA began with a list of "Advisory Board" members that included four Congressmen but all have since left the organization, evidently in protest to its announcement of a "purge" list of 77 Democrats in the House which URA said it aimed to defeat. Early this year Evans was replaced as top staff man (he continues on the Advisory Board) by Wainwright Dawson, a young Pennsylvania advertising man who had come to Washington to direct YAF-PAC, the Political Action Committee of Young Americans for Freedom. In addition to its organizational activities, URA collects and distributes campaign funds to conservative candidates (but it doesn't report these funds to the Congress, claiming that they are properly reportable by the individual candidates). This fund-raising activity, under the URA name, has led the Republican National Committee to circulate a memorandum "to advise that United Republicans of America has no official affiliation whatsoever with the Republican Party."

Veritas Foundation -- Organized in 1958 by Harvard alumni, the Foundation is headed by Archibald Roosevelt, an Endorser of the Birch Society and a regular sponsor of the annual New England Rally for God, Family and Country which is closely linked to the Society. Its main activity has been the preparation, publication and distribution of two books, Keynes at Harvard (which equates Keynesian economics with socialism and communism), and The Great Deceit (which Foundation Research Director Zygmund Dobbs says reports their finding that "the Socialists have crept into various phases of our society, almost by default," and have been allowed "literally to brainwash the American public"). Both books are on the Birch Society's "recommended" list, and a report of late 1966 claimed that 140,000 copies of the first and 14,000 copies of the second had been distributed.

Young Americans for Freedom -- Formally organized at the family estate of William F. Buckley, Jr., in Sharon,

Connecticut, YAF grew directly out of the 1960 Youth for Goldwater movement. It has long been the most important conservative political organization on the college campuses, claiming about 30,000 members. While its orientation is primarily toward the National Review brand of conservatism, YAF's National Advisory Board includes some with ties to the Birch Society, and JBS Council member Clarence Manion is a frequent speaker for the organization. Resolutions adopted at this year's YAF convention included replacing the progressive income tax with a proportional one, putting social security on an optional basis, abolishing the minimum wage, repealing "unenforceable edicts" in the field of civil rights, and a generally "hard-line" in foreign policy. YAF activities include publication of a monthly magazine, New Guard, which reports a paid circulation of more than 20,000.